Reforming Finland

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Reforming Finland

The Diocese of Turku in the Age of Gustav Vasa 1523–1560

By

Jason Lavery

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Cover illustration: Kristuksen ristinkanto (Christ bearing the cross). Wall painting in Isokyrö Church. Photo courtesy Pastor Artturi Kivineva.

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To K. M-C. L.

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Preface

Like many works of scholarship, this book was inspired by previous research projects. While writing a book on Finland's history, I found myself often returning to questions concerning Finland's religious history and the Reformation era in particular.[1]

During the sixteenth century, the Kingdom of Sweden, to which Finland belonged until 1809, like much of western Europe, was transformed by both religious reform and the growth of state power. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Swedish kingdom had become a model of both a strong state and a Lutheran kingdom.

This study examines the Reformation in the Diocese of Turku (Åbo in Swedish) during the reign of King Gustav Vasa from 1523 to 1560. This diocese, a territory better known then and now as Finland, encompassed the Swedish kingdom east of the Gulf of Bothnia. This book has as its central argument that the Reformation in Finland was driven by King Gustav Vasa's state-building program, sometimes referred to as "royal reform" in respect to the church, as well as the spread of Lutheran theology and practice. Royal and Lutheran reform depended upon and reinforced one another. Combined they created the Reformation in the diocese and the Swedish kingdom as a whole. For Gustav Vasa, royal reform primarily meant the Crown's takeover of the church's wealth and administrative autonomy. Lutheran reformers primarily were interested in vernacularizing scripture and the Mass, as well as teaching the basics of Christianity. The process of vernacularization of the church in the Diocese of Turku was a much more complicated undertaking than in many other parts of Europe. The diocese was bilingual with both Swedish and Finnish speakers lacking religious materials in the vernacular. Finnish, the language of the vast majority in the diocese, had no substantial literary tradition—sacred or profane—to build on. A written language had to be developed before vernacularization in Finnish could even occur.

This study offers an alternative narrative to the spread of Lutheran reform. Many of the widely accepted metrics of Lutheran reform derived from the German experience do not apply to Finland. Scholarly and popular historical understandings of the Lutheran Reformation often consist of heroic declarations of principle and incessant conflict. The Reformation in Finland in Gustav Vasa's time had neither. The implementation of Lutheran reform was selective,

1 Jason Lavery, *The History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006).

deliberate, and averse to conflict. In Finland social changes did not set the stage for reform of the church. Rather, reform set the stage for social changes. Educational institutions in the diocese declined rather than developed. This book does not aim to provide a thorough comparative study of the Reformation in Finland and central Europe, but this investigation of the Reformation in Finland raises contrasts for those reading the Reformation from the prevalent central European frame of reference. This study challenges those reading from a Finnish or Scandinavian frame of reference in that it argues that many aspects of Lutheran reform seen as special or unique to Finland were actually extensions of similar developments in Germany.

Location is important to understanding the course of the Reformation in Finland. Gustav Vasa implemented many of his royal reform initiatives later in the Diocese of Turku than in other dioceses. The Diocese of Turku lay far away from the Reformation-era conflicts in Europe that created strong confessional boundaries and identities. Finland formed the northeastern frontier of Lutheran Europe. A frontier is often defined as the physical limit of a system or authority. This understanding implies that the authority or system in question is at its weakest in the frontier. Lutheran influences reached Finland directly from Wittenberg, from across the Gulf of Bothnia, and from across the Gulf of Finland. Finland's religious leaders exploited their location in a frontier to alter Lutheran reform ideas to meet local conditions.

Finland´s geopolitical location had an additional impact on the course of the Reformation. Finland's eastern border was a source of constant tension and sometimes armed conflict between the Swedish kingdom and Russia. The eastern threat had a dampening effect on possible widespread opposition to reforms of the church seen elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom. This consensus between the king, elites in Finland, and the freeholding peasantry concerning the Russian threat discouraged internal discord.

This book project benefitted from the support of many people and institutions. The Collegium of Advanced Studies at Helsinki University provided an ideal environment for starting this project from scratch. Of the many inspiring colleagues at the collegium at that time, I am particularly indebted to its then director, the late Juha Sihvola. At the university's Faculty of Theology, collaborative relationships with such colleagues as Kaarlo Arffman, Simo Heininen, Jyrki Knuutila, Esko Laine, Tuija Laine, and Risto Saarinen helped push this book project forward over the years. The Academy of Finland's Center of Excellence entitled Rethinking Finland 1400–2000 funded a year of research leave at the University of Jyväskylä. There I benefitted from interactions with several colleagues, among them Jari Ojala, Piritta Frigren, Mikko Hiljanen, Petri Karonen, Tuomas Laine-Frigren, Pirjo Markkola, and Kustaa Vilkuna. Petteri Impola provided

several important hours of research assistance. Jari Järvinen made two of the three maps in this book. Pastor Artturi Kivineva of Isokyrö took the photograph that adorns the cover of this book. The photo is of one of the wall paintings in the church of Isokyrö discussed in chapter eight. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen of the Finnish Literature Society provided both needed materials and a venue for the presentation of my work.

The Oklahoma Humanities Council, the Finnish Cultural Foundation, and Oklahoma State University provided additional funding for summer research. Heads of the Department of History at Oklahoma State University, Elizabeth Williams, Michael Logan, and Laura Belmonte, supported this project in many ways over the years.

Several colleagues scrutinized this manuscript in part or in whole: Otfried Czaika, Georg Haggrén, Petri Karonen, Jyrki Knuutila, and Susanna Niiranen. Kaisa Häkkinen checked my translations of sixteenth-century Finnish. The anonymous peer reviewers for this book provided useful insights. I thank all of these colleagues for their time and input. Any remaining errors are my own.

My wife Susanne and daughter Katarina agreed twice to relocate to Finland while I worked on this book project. I cannot thank them enough for their support. Katarina had to endure tough challenges in relocating twice to a foreign land and school system during her formative years. I dedicate the book to her.

Notes on Spelling, Terminology, and Electronic Sources

Readers will quickly learn from this book that Finland has two national languages, Finnish and Swedish. This bilingualism can make place names confusing. In this work, the most established and recognized name for a geographical location in English-language writing will be used, such as the Åland Islands (in Finnish Ahvenanmaa), Vyborg (in Finnish Viipuri, in Swedish Viborg), or Turku (Swedish Åbo). Many places in Finland have only one name that is used in both official languages. If a place has both a Finnish and a Swedish name but not an established English alternative name, the recommendation of the Institute for the Languages of Finland will be followed. In the first instance that a place name appears in the text, the place name used by the current linguistic majority will be used first and that by the minority will be put in parenthesis.[2] Subsequently, the name used by the majority will be employed. Finnish and Swedish have two letters that do not appear in the English alphabet: *ä* and *ö*.

2 http://www.kotus.fi/files/3497/Suomen_paikannimet_erikielisissa_teksteissa.pdf (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

In Finnish (and Finland Swedish), *ä* is pronounced like the *a* in the English word hat, *ö* like the—er in soldier. Swedish has an additional letter, *å*, which sounds like the *o* in so. In both Finnish and Swedish, the frequently occurring diphthong—ei is pronounced like the—ay in the English word hay. The diphthong—ai is pronounced like the English word eye.

As far as the names of individuals are concerned, there are several complicating factors, since a person's name may be rendered in different ways in English-language scholarship. Names of rulers will be anglicized following traditional practice except where a widely-used foreign version of a person's name in English prevails. Names of clergymen will appear in the form given in *The National Biography of Finland* (*Suomen kansallisbiografia*) or the register of pastors in the Diocese of Turku, *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*. Other names will be rendered as they appear in the primary sources with possible modernization of orthography. In some cases, well-known alternative versions of names will appear parenthetically.

Finland's regional place in Europe often creates confusion because of the multiple definitions of the term Scandinavia. One use of the term defines Scandinavia geographically to include the countries of the Scandinavian Peninsula, that is, Sweden and Norway. Scandinavia is used as a cultural-linguistic label to include Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland, all of whose languages are related. In addition, Scandinavia traditionally has been understood as a region with a common culture and history, as well as similar political and social institutions. This understanding of Scandinavia includes Finland. Sometimes the word *Norden,* translated often as "the Nordic region" is used in respect to all five countries. Since no consensus exists on the use of the word Scandinavia, and the use of *Norden* and Nordic region are complicated on several levels, this book will use the term Scandinavia in the broadest sense to encompass the countries of Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland.[3]

The terms "Swedish kingdom" and "Swedish realm" will apply to those areas under the control of the Swedish monarch, Finland included.[4] In respect to the medieval and early modern eras, "Finland" is identified as the vast part of the Finnish Peninsula under the Kingdom of Sweden. Similarly, the terms "Finnish" and "Finn" refers to those born and living primarily in Finland. It is a geographic, rather than an ethnolinguistic term. It applies to all language groups that inhabited Finland.

3 Lavery, *History of Finland*, xi.

4 This decision is inspired by Otfried Czaika, *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 2002), 20–21.

The currency of the Swedish kingdom during the Reformation era was the Swedish mark, and like many monetary systems of the time, this currency's subunits were not based on factors of ten. The smallest subunit was the penny (*penning*). Eight pennies made one *örtug*, three *örtugs* made one *öre* and 8 *öre* one mark, so a mark consisted of 192 pennies.

This work will refer to two electronic encyclopedic works. The ten-volume Finnish-language work *Suomen kansallisbiografia* or *The National Biography of Finland* was published from 2003 through 2008. It has since appeared in an online database. References to entries will be made only to their electronic locations. Another electronic reference work is the register of pastors in the Diocese of Turku, *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*. This most complete catalog of Finland's clergy for the years 1554–1721 developed incrementally over several generations. Many entries have no declared or known author. As a result, the work's final compiler, Kyösti Väänänen, is recognized as the work's creator and no authors of entries are given. Since this work relies heavily on published primary sources, they will appear first in footnotes followed by secondary sources.

Abbreviations

FMU	*Finlands Medeltidsukunder*
HFH	*Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*
HSH	*Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*
KA	*Kansallisarkisto, Helsinki*
KGR	*Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*
RA	Riksarkivet, Stockholm
SKS	Suomen kirjallisuuden seura
SRA	*Svenska riksdagsakter*

MAP 1 *Finland During the Reign of Gustav Vasa*

Introduction: Scholars, Reformers, and the Diocese of Turku

A steady and substantial stream of scholarship on the Reformation in Finland has been produced since the late nineteenth century. Nonetheless, for several reasons, distinct and differing schools of interpretation have not arisen, even between scholarly generations. The first reason is institutional uniformity. Church historians trained and or employed by the Faculty of Theology at Helsinki University have written most of the research on Finland's Reformation. A second reason for the lack of scholarly debate is that the Reformation does not represent a divisive moment in Finland's past. The Reformation in Finland and throughout Scandinavia did not create large religious minorities or protracted confessional strife. Historians have never celebrated the break with Catholic Europe as a liberating moment. Unlike other modern historiographical traditions informed by Protestantism, nationalism, and liberalism, Finnish historiography always has understood the medieval Catholic Church as positive for national development. The medieval Diocese of Turku (Åbo in Swedish) covered most of the Finnish peninsula, thus giving Finland an administrative identity within the Swedish kingdom. The church facilitated the education of academically gifted youth in Europe's leading universities. The establishment of Roman Catholicism ensured that Finland would belong to western Europe and not to Russia.[1] The first widely read biography of the sixteenth-century Finnish reformer Mikael Agricola published in 1908 by Professor and later Bishop Jaakko Gummerus presented a national Lutheran understanding of the medieval period that continues to exert influence:

> The medieval Catholic Church had given our people the fundamentals of faith and knowledge. It also created here a congregation that confessed

1 For example, Simo Heininen, *Suomalaisen historiankirjoituksen synty: Tutkimus Paavali Juustenin piispainkronikasta* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1989); Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), 29–57; Erkki Lehtinen, *Suomen varhaishistorian ja ristiretkikauden kuvasta uskonpuhdistuksen ja suurvalta-aikana* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1968); Pentti Renvall, *Kuninkaanmiehiä ja kapinoitisijoita Vaasa-kauden Suomessa* (Heksinki: Tammi, 1962), 266–77. The use of the Bridgettine abbey at Naantali as proof of Finland's place in the West has been studied in Eva Ahl-Waris, *Historiebruk kring Nådendal och den kommemorativa anatomin av klostrets minnesplats* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2010).

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> Christ's name. The church's religious activity was at the same time very valuable civilizing work. By linking Finland to the main countries of European civilization, the church had opened to Finland the road to civilization and guaranteed for our people an intellectual connection with other peoples, without which no enduring development was possible.…The actions of temporal rulers, that is the Swedish conquest, unified the tribes of the Finnish peninsula that were still savaging each other in the 1200s. However, it was the church that truly brought them together, building out of the inhabitants of the Diocese of Finland a unified Finnish people.

Only then did Gummerus add that "the work of the medieval church needed in every respect replenishment. The Reformation brought that replenishment."[2]

Scholars for generations have conceded that replenishment, while needed, was costly. Finnish Reformation historiography never has expressed the level of triumphalism that pervaded its German counterpart before the 1960s or the progressive certainty of the English Whig tradition.[3] Instead, scholars since the 1960s in particular have demonstrated that the Reformation cut Finland off from many European centers of learning for decades; educational institutions declined in Finland and the entire Swedish kingdom. The church ceased funding major works of art and architecture, such as stone churches. The partition of the Diocese of Turku into two, Turku and Vyborg, in 1554 weakened Finland's distinct administrative identity.[4]

This ambivalent view of the Reformation has left scholars open to the continuities of the era. The strength of research concerning medieval Finland has further supported attention to continuity with the medieval Catholic era. Since the nineteenth century, scholarship on medieval Finland has been so strong that medievalists have shared ownership over the sixteenth century with early modernists. As a result, in comparison to other national historiographies,

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2 Jaakko Gummerus, *Mikael Agricola* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1908), 105–06.

3 Thomas A. Brady, Jr., "The German Reformation between the Late Middle Ages and Early Modernity," in *Die deutsche Reformation zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Jr. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001), VII. For a brief survey of the English Whig historians see William P. Hazlett, *The Reformation in England and Ireland: An Introduction* (London: T & T Clark, 1998), 27–28.

4 For example, Markus Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 8–28; Mika Kallioinen, *Kirkon ja kruunun välissä: Suomalaiset ja keskiaika* (Helsinki: Edita, 2001), 14–15; Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 378–380; Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 20.

scholars have more often tended to see the sixteenth century as the end of the Middle Ages than the beginning of the early modern era.[5] Going farther afield, one encounters yet another intellectual reinforcement of continuity in the form of Finnish Luther studies. In systematic theology, the Finnish interpretation of Luther known as Mannermaa School understands Luther as a product of the medieval world rather than an initiator of the modern. This emphasis on continuity has flourished in the strong spirit of ecumenism in Finland's Lutheran Church since World War II.[6]

The emphasis on slow change and continuity does not stem just from national sentimentality or modern inclusiveness. It rests on the evidence. The church's transformation lasted decades. By the end of Gustav Vasa's reign in 1560, the Swedish kingdom's church had become a royal institution. Its Lutheranism was still weak enough to invite challenges by future kings—and Rome itself.[7] The Swedish kingdom officially adopted the Augsburg Confession as the foundational creed of the kingdom's church in 1593—some seventy years after the initiation of the Reformation. Even then, one cannot say with absolute certainty that Finland and the Swedish kingdom had become comprehensively Lutheran.

The scholarly consensus of a long, slow, and reluctant Reformation is so strong that the only explicit attempt at an alternative or revisionist history upholds it. In 1997, Magnus Nyman published a study on Catholicism in the Swedish kingdom during the Reformation era. In his study, Nyman makes an exceptional effort to include Finland in his study of entire sixteenth-century Swedish kingdom. Nyman seeks to demonstrate the persistence of what he sees as Catholic belief and practice in the Swedish kingdom in the face of what he sees as a strong tendency to ignore such continuities.[8] As some of the book's reviewers correctly have pointed out, Nyman's work exaggerates the confessional partisanship of Swedish Reformation research. Historians have long recognized the prolonged transformation and the fluid definitions of Catholic and Lutheran in the sixteenth century.[9] Moreover, Nyman's work

5 Kallioinen, *Kirkon ja kruunun välissä*, 11.

6 Carl Braaten and Robert Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

7 Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, vols. 1–2 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1963–1990).

8 Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia*: *Katolska liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina*, 2nd edition (Stockholm: Katolska bokförlag, 2002).

9 Reviews of Nyman's book include Göran Malmstedt, *Historisk tidskrift* 118 (1998): 274–277; Yvonne Maria Werner, *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* 98 (1998): 211–213 and *Scandia* 64 (1998): 119–122.

overlooks the conservative approach of Lutheranism to reform of the church compared to other Protestant reform movements. The fact that Lutherans left certain aspects of church practice and tradition unchanged should not automatically be interpreted as successful Catholic resistance.

A smaller but more polemical attack on the reluctant and largely peaceful Reformation was launched in 2005 by Jussi Hanska in *Historiallinen aikakauskirja*, Finland's leading historical journal. Hanska's article consists of a call to revisionism. He points out that scholars assume the lack of evidence of opposition to ecclesiastical reform in Finland as proof of the absence of religious conflict. Hanska counters by asking whether the lack of evidence of rebellion or opposition means automatically that none took place. Finland's Reformation era has not bequeathed to historians the quality and quantity of materials that are available, for example, for research of the Reformation in Germany. Hanska's essay provokes several questions concerning the seeming strength of continuity with the medieval era and slow change. Does the lack of sources make it easier to argue for continuity? Have scholars looked hard enough for sources to contradict the prevailing continuity thesis? Have they examined the known sources thoroughly? Like most polemics, Hanska's article more effectively identifies a problem than it proposes alternative approaches and interpretations. One can sympathize with the underlying frustration of a polemic against a consensus that virtually nobody is willing or able to crack. Any successful challenge or revisionism must rest on the sources and not just on frustration at the scholarly status quo or a desire to create a more entertaining historical narrative.[10]

Martin Berntson raises several important points in respect to conflict in an essay examining the challenges of studying popular religion in the Swedish kingdom during the sixteenth century. There are fewer sources concerning what non-elites thought in the Swedish kingdom than in other parts of Europe. Relevant sources are even fewer in the eastern part of the kingdom than in the western part. The scholarship has tended to see every possible act of resistance to the Crown as having some kind of programmatic religious motivation. This assumption of religious motivation has informed both older scholarship that welcomed Lutheran reform and more recent scholarship that seeks Catholic continuity. From the early fourteenth century onwards, all major rebellions in the Swedish kingdom had both religious or ecclesiastical and temporal aspects. It is often difficult to separate religious from temporal motivations.[11]

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10 Jussi Hanska, "Revisionistista historiankirjoitusta maailmalla—milloin Suomessa?" *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 103 (2005): 61–68.

11 Martin Berntson, "Fanns det ett folkligt reformationsmotstånd i Sverige under 1500-talet?" in *Doften av rykande vekar*, ed. Fredrik Heiding S.J. and Magnus Nyman (Skellefteå: Artos, 2016), 333–367.

In recent times, a visible debate has centered on what to call the Reformation in the Finnish language. Unlike Swedish, Finland's second official language, or most other languages spoken in Europe, the most commonly used Finnish word for the Reformation is not some derivative of the Latin *reformatio*. Instead, it is *uskonpuhdistus*. Interestingly, the Latinate term *reformaatio* was first used in Finnish as early as 1732, while *uskonpuhdistus* entered the language in 1847.[12] When the term *uskonpuhdistus* was coined in the nineteenth century, it meant "the cleansing of the faith" (*puhdistus*=cleansing, *uskon*=genitive of faith). Over the course of the twentieth century, the word *puhdistus* came to have an additional and more predominant meaning closer to the English word "purge" in a political sense. As Finland's Lutheran and Catholic churches sought cooperation for ecumenical celebrations of the Reformation's quadricentennial in 2017, Finland's Catholic Church opposed the possible use of the term *uskonpuhdistus* in connection with joint commemorations. From the Catholic Church's viewpoint, the term *uskonpuhdistus* implies that its faith is wholly impure. The Lutheran Church agreed to use the Catholics' preferred Finnish term, *reformaatio*.[13] In any case, the term *reformaatio* has come into greater use over the last few decades in scholarly writing. The scholarly preference for *reformaatio* maintains that it is a less partisan and more scientific term. Linguistically the term more easily connects events in Finland with developments elsewhere in Europe.

The debate over use of the word *uskonpuhdistus* has generated informative investigations into its origins and original meanings. The term was introduced as a loanword from the German term *Glaubensreinigung*, or cleansing of the faith, a term used in Germany for the Reformation in the late eighteenth and

12 Juhani Holma, *Sangen ialo rucous: Schwenckfeldiläisten rukouskirja Mikael Agricolan lähteenä* (Helsinki: Yliopistopaino, 2008), 45. In Estonian, a language closely related to Finnish, the term *usupuhastus* or "cleansing of the faith" is used to describe the Reformation parallel with the term *reformatsioon* without any confessional debate. See Aleksander Loit, "Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in den ländlichen Gebieten der baltischen Lande von ca. 1500 bis zum Ende der schwedischen Herrschaft," in *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Livland, Estland, Ösel, Kurland, und Lettgallen: Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721,* vol. 1, ed. Matthias Asche, Werner Buchholz, and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff, 2009), 55. I wish to thank experts of Estonian church history Mikko Ketola and Riho Altnurme for an informative exchange over email.

13 Tiina Juujärvi, "Kirkkohallitus lepyttelee katolilaisia—uskonpuhdistuksesta puhuminen lopetetaan, tilalle reformaatio," *Helsingin sanomat*, 5 July 2015, http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1436062190118 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016). In 2015, 73.8 percent of Finland's population belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Catholics in Finland numbered 12,554 or 0.2 percent of the population. *Suomen tilastollinen vuosikirja—Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2015* (Helsinki: Tilastokeskus, 2015), 500.

first half of the nineteenth centuries. At the time, *Glaubensreinigung* was one of several terms introduced in Germany meant to replace *Reformation* out of a desire to maximize the expressive power of the German language. Nonetheless, *Reformation* prevailed in the late nineteenth century all over German-speaking Europe.[14] In the nineteenth century, the Finnish language was developing into a full-fledged language for all aspects of human endeavor, and similarly, cultivators of the Finnish language wanted to create new terms and words based on Finnish roots. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were in Finnish several terms for the Reformation, but *uskonpuhdistus* won out.[15]

Somewhat ironically, the term *uskonpuhdistus* in its original meaning as "a cleansing" better approximates recent prevailing understandings of the Reformation in Finland. A cleansing connotes a less thoroughgoing process of change than a re-formation of an entire church, and thus suggests greater continuity. As Tuomo Fonsén has argued, the idea of the Reformation as a cleansing connects with the biblical analogy of Jesus cleansing the temple of the moneychangers. Luther similarly tried to cleanse the church of peddlers of indulgences. The entire temple was not corrupt, rather only certain parts of it.[16]

Languages, like religious communities, are living beings. Nonetheless, the term *uskonpuhdistus* will not entirely disappear from use anytime soon. Generations of Finnish-speaking Lutherans, the overwhelming majority of Finland's population, have learned the term in history and religion classes in school.

The Reformation as Statebuilding

The scholarship on the Reformation in Finland and the Swedish kingdom has had two primary *foci*: statebuilding, or royal reform, and what can be broadly called theological reform. The process of royal reform resulted in the church losing both its considerable wealth and its administrative autonomy to the Crown. In turn, the Swedish monarchy, which, in the medieval era, had very limited powers and resources at its disposal, created effective means of taxation. In establishing what scholars often refer to as the "tax state," Gustav first

14 Tuomo Fonsén, "Suomen uskonpuhdistus käännöslainana saksan sanasta Glaubensreinigung," *Virittäjä* 121 (2017): 382–400.

15 Aila Mielikäinen, "Uskonpuhdistus ja reformaatio," *Kielikello* 2/2014, http://www.kielikello.fi/index.php?mid=2&pid=11&aid=2705 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016). For the larger efforts to make Finnish a full language of the sciences, see Katja Huumo, *"Perkeleen kieli:" Suomen kieli ja poliittisesti korrekti tiede 1800-luvulla* (Vammala: Suomen tiedeseura, 2005).

16 Fonsén, "Suomen uskonpuhdistus," 17.

pursued the wealth and taxing power of the church. The surviving account books from King Gustav's reign have allowed scholars to chart in great detail the king's takeover of the church's economic resources. As early as 1869, Hans Forssell catalogued Gustav's confiscation of the church's lands, taxes, and precious metals in a multivolume history of Gustav Vasa.[17] Some of Forssell's findings were corrected and further developed by Ingrid Hammarström in her 1956 study of the Swedish Crown's financial policies 1504–1540.[18] The first significant study concerning confiscation of ecclesiastical property in Finland appeared in K. G. Leinberg's history of Finland's monasteries published in 1890.[19]

Finland's first prolific historian of the Reformation, Kauko Pirinen (1915–1999), focused on the Reformation as statebuilding without applying the conceptual framework of statebuilding. In the 1950s and 1960s, he published several studies of the confiscation of ecclesiastical property in the Diocese of Turku.[20] These studies laid the foundation for other historians to study more focused questions concerning the royal confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Aarre Läntinen has studied the impact of confiscation on the increase of the royal demesne in Gustav Vasa's time. According to this study, about seventy percent of the increase in Gustav Vasa's landholdings in Finland came as a result of the *reduktion* of church lands.[21] In another study of the medieval bishop of Turku's income and property known as the "bishop's table," Läntinen demonstrates that, as a result of Gustav Vasa's actions, the income of the bishop of Turku from ecclesiastical sources shrank by some

17 Hans Forssell, *Sveriges inre historia från Gustaf I: Med särskildt afseende på förvaltning och ekonomi*, vols. 1–2 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1869–1875).

18 Ingrid Hammarström, *Finansförvaltning och varuhandel: Studier i de yngre sturarnas och Gustav Vasas statshushållning* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956).

19 K. G. Leinberg, *De finska klostrens historia* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1890).

20 Kauko Pirinen, "Pappien omaisuus ja perintö keskiajalla ja uskonpuhdistusaikana: Oikeushistoriallinen selvitys erityisesti Suomen kirkon oloja silmällä pitäen," in *Ramus virens: In honorem Aarno Maliniemi*, ed. Keijo Astala (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1952), 195–248, Swedish summary 406–08; Kauko Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio Varsinais-Suomessa ja sen seuraukset*, vol. 5:3, *Varsinais-Suomen Historia*, ed. Einar V. Juva et al. (Turku: Varsinaissuomen historiantutkimusyhdistys, 1955); Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962).

21 Aarre Läntinen, *Kuninkaan "perintöä ja omaa" (arv och eget): Kameraalihistoriallinen tutkimus Kustaa Vaasan maaomaisuudesta Suomessa vuosina 1531–1560* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1981).

ninety percent by the end of Gustav's reign.[22] More general studies of taxation by Hannu Välimäki and Suvianna Seppälä have examined the royal takeover of church taxes.[23] These studies give a more than convincing picture of the church's massive loss of wealth. They demonstrate the protracted process of this loss that lasted the king's entire reign.[24] These studies do not address the impact of this significant transfer of wealth on the larger society. This study investigates these changes.

Another aspect of royal reform lies in the Crown's assumption of ecclesiastical administration and powers of appointment. Scholars have concentrated on Gustav Vasa's attempts to change the ecclesiastical hierarchy and more specifically episcopal offices in the Swedish kingdom.[25] On the basis of this research, one can conclude that it was much easier for the king to take the church's wealth than to change its governing structures. A handful of studies have examined the royal impact on church administration more broadly to include such organs as the cathedral chapter, deaneries, local parishes, and ecclesiastical courts in the Diocese of Turku.[26] Of these works, the most comprehensive work covering the age of Gustav Vasa is Kauko Pirinen's work on the Cathedral Chapter of the Diocese of Turku. This work chronicles the king's policy of letting this organ of ecclesiastical self-governance disintegrate by not

22 Aarre Läntinen, *Turun keskiaikainen piispanpöytä* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1978).

23 Suvianna Seppälä, *Viljana, nahkoina, kapakalana: Talonpoikien maksamat kruununverot Suomessa vuosina 1539–1609* (Helsinki: SKS, 2009); Hannu Välimäki, *Kymmenyksistä kirkollisveroon: Kirkollisverotus Suomen evankelisluterilaisessa kirkossa reformaatiosta nykypäivään* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2002).

24 For studies on the confiscation of silver and portable property see, Olle Källström, *Medeltida kyrksilver från Sverige och Finland förlorat genom Gustav Vasas konfiskationer* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1939); Olle Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver under Gustav Vasa," *Forvännen* 35 (1940): 207–216; J. H. Vennola, "Suomen kirkon irtaimiston anastuksesta uskonpuhdistuksen aikana," *Joukahainen* 12 (1904): 150–173.

25 Theodor van Haag, "Die apostolische Sukzession in Schweden," *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* 44 (1944): 1–168; Sven Kjöllerström, *Kräkla och mitra: En undersökning om biskopsvigningar i Sverige under reformationstidevarvet* (Lund: Gleerup, 1965); Martti Parvio, "The Post-Reformation Development of the Episcopacy in Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic States," in *Episcopacy in the Lutheran Church? Studies in the Development and Definition of the Office of Church Leadership*, ed. Ivar Asheim and Victor R. Gold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 125–137.

26 Karl Adolf Appelberg, *Bidrag till belysning af sättet för prästtjänsternas besättande i Finland från reformationen till medlet av 17:de seklet* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1896); Erkki Kansanaho, *Suomen evankelisluterilaisen kirkon hallinto: Kirkon lainsäädännön ja*

replacing deceased members.[27] Pirinen's study illuminates how royal reform of the Swedish church was in many ways a reformation by attrition.

The scholarship has presented royal reform as a top-down process in which the Crown took wealth and power from the church.[28] More recent developments in the scholarship of statebuilding in early modern Europe have uncovered statebuilding as an interactive process between the Crown and other, usually more local, social groups. Recent scholarship on statebuilding in the Swedish kingdom has emphasized agency and interaction between the Crown and other social actors. These studies have focused on the agency of the peasantry and the nobility while ignoring possible agency by the church and clergy, despite the importance of the royal takeover of the church to the overall statebuilding process.[29] A recent departure from this tendency is a work

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hallinnon kehitys Ruotsin vallan ajoista nykypäiviin (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1954); Mia Korpiola, "Lutheran Marriage Norms in Action: The Example of Post-Reformation Sweden 1520–1600," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, ed. Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 131–169. Jukka Paarma, *Hüppakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1980); Kauko Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja 1500-luvun maarovasteista ja rovastinkäräjistä," in *Arce et vigilia: Studia historico-ecclesiastica in honorem*, ed. *Ilmari Salomies* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1963), 19–20.

27 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*.

28 Most recently, James L. Larson, *Reforming the North: The Kingdoms and Churches of Scandinavia 1520–1545* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). The importance of the king in the process of reform is discussed in a variety of surveys of the Reformation period, such as Åke Andrén, *Sveriges Kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, *Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999) and Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1–2, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933).

29 Jan Glete, "Makt genom organization—Vasatidens stats- och imperiebygge som samhällsorganisatoriskt projekt," in *Att förstå det mänskliga*, ed. Kerstin Dahlbäck (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2000), 82–108; Harald Gustafsson, *Gamla riken, nya stater: Statsbildning, politisk kultur och identiteter under Kalmarunionens upplösningskede* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2000); Mats Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket: Lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid* (Stockholm: Brutus Östlings bokförlag, 2001); Mats Hallenberg, Johan Holm, and Dan Johansson, "Organization, Legitimation, Participation: State Formation as a Dynamic Process—the Swedish Example," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 33 (2008): 247–268; Sven A. Nilsson, *Krona och frälse i Sverige 1523–1594: Rusttjänst, länsväsende, godspolitik* (Lund: Gleerup, 1947); Sven A. Nilsson, *På väg mot militärstaten: Krigsbefälets etablering i den äldre Vasatidens Sverige* (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, 1989); Eva Österberg, "State Reformation and the People: The Swedish Model in Perspective," in *Gemeinde, Reformation und Widerstand: Festschrift für Peter Blickle*, ed. Heinrich Richard Schmidt, André Holenstein, and Andreas Würgler (Tübingen: Biblioteca academica, 1998), 115–126.

by Kajsa Brilkman on the shared discourse of the Crown and clergy concerning the organization of society during Gustav Vasa's reign until 1544.[30] The lack of attention to possible personal agency or cooperation stems from long-standing assumptions of church historians and socio-economic historians. Church historians have understood the church largely as a powerless victim of royal actions. Socio-economic and political historians have shied away from getting into the internal world of the church, satisfied with seeing the church taken over by the Crown in a larger and longer-term process of secularization and statebuilding. In both cases, the church is an object without agency. This study will examine, to the extent that the sources allow, the process of negotiation between the Crown, Finland's church, and the various societal stakeholders that facilitated the reform of Finland's church in terms of both statebuilding and theological reform.

Finland's Lutheran Reformation

Kauko Pirinen trained most of Finland's leading Reformation historians who rose to prominence in the years from 1960–1990, such as Martti Parvio, Seppo J. Salminen, Erkki Kouri, Simo Heininen, and Jukka Paarma.[31] These scholars and others of their generation did pioneering work on the Reformation as theological change by examining topics, such as the liturgy, rituals, and sacraments.[32] A reader of the Reformation in Lutheran central Europe might find this body of scholarship very technical and lacking any connection to larger

30 Kajsa Brilkman, *Undersåten som förstodd: Den svenska reformatoriska samtalsordningen och den tidigmoderna integrationsprocessen* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2013).

31 Pentti Laasonen, "Pirisen ja Juvan lisensiaattiseminaari," in *Kauko Pirinen in memoriam*, ed. Mikko Ketola (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2001), 215–221.

32 Jyrki Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen Suomessa reformaatiokaudella 1537–1614," *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 77 (1987): 9–40; Jyrki Knuutila, *Avioliitto oikeudellisena ja kirkollisena instituutiona Suomessa vuoteen 1629* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1990); Pentti Lempiäinen, *Rippikäytäntö Suomen kirkossa uskonpuhdistuksesta 1600-luvun loppuun* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1963); Pentti Lempiäinen, *Kastekäytäntö Suomen kirkossa 1500- ja 1600-luvulla* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1965); Martti Parvio, "Mikael Agricolan siunaukset," *Turun historiallinen arkisto* 20 (1967): 28–55; Martti Parvio, "Mikael Agricolan käsitys kirastulesta ja votiivimessusta," in *Investigatio memoriae patrum: Libellus in honorem Kauko Pirinen*, ed. Aimo Halila, Mikko Juva, and Martti Parvio (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1975), 35–51; Martti Parvio, "Mikael Agricola ja jumalanpalveluksen uudistaminen," *Opusculum* 4 (1984): 115–120.

theological debates. The research simply has worked with the primary sources available. Finland's reformers did not bequeath scholars evidence of any theological debates, much less ones of the complexity that engulfed Lutherans in Germany.[33] Changes in belief did not occur through doctrinal thunderbolts thrown down from on high by magisterial reformers. Rather, the slow Lutheranization of Finland occurred through changes in practice over decades. Practice rather than doctrinal decisions more decisively influenced belief.

Finland's reformers primarily sought change in practice through vernacularizing the Mass, other ceremonies, prayer, and scripture. This emphasis on practice has focused much scholarly attention on the clergyman and scholar Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557). A central tenet of Lutheran reform called for the proclamation of the Word of God in the vernacular. This call had a particular impact on languages, such as Finnish, that had little or no literary tradition. In the sixteenth century, Finnish was the first language of around eighty percent of the Diocese of Turku's inhabitants. Agricola published a spelling primer for the Finnish language in 1543. In the following year, he published a prayer book in Finnish. In 1548 he published a Finnish translation of the New Testament. Agricola's achievements helped him to win promotion in 1554 to the post of bishop of Turku and later to the title of "Father of the Finnish language."[34]

Despite Agricola's breakthrough contributions to the Finnish language, scholars have understood Agricola in many contexts of continuity. Recent research has emphasized that efforts to translate the Word of God into Finnish and Swedish preceded Agricola and the sixteenth-century reformers.[35] By the time Agricola achieved a position of influence in the church hierarchy in the late 1530s, the Reformation was well underway.[36] Scholars accept the understanding of Agricola's biographer Simo Heininen that Agricola was influenced heavily by Erasmian Christian humanism, in many respects possibly even

33 Eric W. Gritsch, *A History of Lutheranism* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 86–91.

34 Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word: Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: SKS, 2015); Jason Lavery, *The History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006), 40.

35 Kaisa Häkkinen, ed., *Codex Westh: Westhin koodeksin tekstit* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2012); Kaisa Häkkinen, ed., *Tutkimuksia Westhin koodeksista* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2012); Marko Lamberg, "Reformaatio ja suomalaisuus," in *Reformaatio: Henkilökuvia ja tutkimussuuntia*, ed. Joona Salminen (Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura and Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2008), 62–85; Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Uskonnolliset liikkeet myöhäiskeskiajalla ja reformaation aikana," in Salminen, *Reformaatio*, 23–30.

36 Simo Heininen, "Mikael Agricolan käyttämä reformatorinen kirjallisuus," in Salminen, *Reformaatio*, 175–79.

more so than by what he learned under Luther in Wittenberg.[37] Martti Parvio, Jyrki Knuutila, and Pentti Lempiäinen have studied Agricola as a liturgical reformer. They have all demonstrated that Agricola had a largely conservative, minimalist approach to reforming the medieval Mass as well as rituals compared to some of the attempts at reform in Germany or elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom.[38]

Methodologically, the studies of the Reformation as theological reform have consisted of very close textual readings. Just as the study of royal reform could use the conceptual tools of agency and interactivity, so could the study of the theological reform. The scholarship presents theological reform as a top-down process by clergymen such as Agricola. Finland's reformers actually stood in the middle of a larger chain of transmission. They took the Lutheran reform ideas that spread through Germany, Scandinavia, and the eastern Baltic and adapted them to Finnish conditions.

The tendency to examine Finland's Reformation as two separate processes of royal and theological reform begs the question as to whether they can be brought together in a more comprehensive understanding. The extant scholarship has treated the royal takeover of the church's wealth and administration on the one hand and the spread of Lutheran reform ideas on the other in isolation from one another. Interestingly, the scholarship on these two tracks has never provoked a conflict between them. Scholars of the Reformations outside of Scandinavia have argued for decades over the primacy of theology and belief as opposed to society and state.[39]

This book does not seek to privilege one process over the other. The real story of the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom and Finland is the interaction of statebuilding and Lutheran reform. This book also illuminates the interaction between royal and Lutheran reform. The Lutheran-minded clergy actively participated in many of the king's actions toward the church. The king in many respects advanced Lutheran reform. His takeover of the church's resources and authority created an atmosphere in which all aspects of the church lay open to question. Early in his reign the king gave cautious backing to Lutheran-minded

37 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola ja Erasmus Rotterdamilainen* (Helsinki: SKS, 2006).

38 Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen," 9–40; Knuutila, *Aviolüitto oikeudellisena ja kirkkollisena instituutiona;* Lempiäinen, *Rippikäytäntö Suomen kirkossa*; Lempiäinen, *Kastekäytäntö Suomen kirkossa*; Parvio, "Mikael Agricolan siunaukset," 28–55; Parvio, "Mikael Agricolan käsitys kiirastulesta ja votiivimessuista," 35–51; Parvio, "Mikael Agricola ja jumalanpalveluksen uudistaminen," 115–120.

39 A summary of these debates are found in Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 2nd edition (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 4–22.

reformers. As his grip on power strengthened, his support became more assertive. Gustav was attracted to Lutheran reform for two reasons. First, Lutheran-minded reformers in their writings and actions gave the king justifications for his takeover of the church's wealth and power. Second, the king saw in Lutheran reform his own desire for a simpler form of Christianity.

In this book, much of the reform of the church in the Swedish kingdom will be described as Lutheran. It is important to keep in mind that the reform movement originally inspired by the writings and actions of Martin Luther was for most of the sixteenth century a large tent that encompassed various and sometimes even conflicting approaches to reform. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the term evangelical was used often to describe this movement.[40] This tent of reform became geographically even larger and internally more heterodox as it expanded out of Germany to encompass Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region. For two reasons this study employs the term "Lutheran reform" to refer to the dominant stream of reform in Finland. First, the reformers in Finland themselves consciously understood that their reform influences were coming from the wider Lutheran/evangelical reform movement in Germany, and from Wittenberg in particular. Second, the reform introduced in Finland and the Swedish kingdom during Gustav Vasa's reign represented reforms that all Lutheran factions in Germany pursued. Finnish reformers emphasized vernacularizing the church, eliminating the role of merit in salvation, making the church less opulent, and educating the masses in the basics of Christian teaching.

Implicit in the scholarship is the assumption that those aspects of the church that were untouched by the Reformation were Catholic, especially if Lutherans eliminated them in later times. The line between "Lutheran" and "Catholic" as well as the overlap between them often shifted during the sixteenth century and many times since. In Germany, the struggle among Lutheran reformers over what aspects of medieval Christianity to maintain and eliminate led to the creation of one of the best-known concepts to come out of the Reformation era—Philipp Melanchthon's understanding that some practices and beliefs were *adiaphora*: they were neither forbidden nor required by scripture. These constantly shifting lines and the desire to avoid imposing later definitions of "Catholic" and "Lutheran" on certain aspects of practice and belief guide the use of these terms in this study.

The scholarship implies that Finland's Reformation took a slower pace than that of the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia and an even slower

40 Gritsch, *History of Lutheranism*, 86–91.

pace compared to Germany.[41] This assumption has never been based on widely accepted metrics concerning pace of reform. Many parts of church reform came later to Finland than the rest of the kingdom, but in some cases change came simultaneously, or even earlier. The implementation of reform was equally uneven on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Scholars of the Scandinavian Reformations tend to see Lutheran Germany as a monolith that developed more quickly than Lutheran Scandinavia when in fact German Lutheranism in the first half of the sixteenth century was in many respects even more divided and heterodox than its Scandinavian counterparts. While one must be careful in calling Finland's Reformation slow compared to other places, one should recognize that change was slow in sense that there was no magic moment when Finland or the Swedish kingdom became Lutheran. Reform was slow in that it was applied often incrementally and deliberately in order to avoid conflict. Lutheran reform throughout Europe reached a comprehensive and confessional stasis (often known as orthodoxy) in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This stasis did not mean the complete end of change, conflict, and debate inside Lutheran Europe.

Finland as a Location of Reform

The conceptual innovations in Reformation studies over the last few decades have had little impact on the scholarship concerning the Reformations in Scandinavia. Scholars only recently have begun to apply the theory of confessionalization to Scandinavia, decades after it entered the scholarly discourse on the Reformation elsewhere.[42] Regional, local, rural, and urban studies in respect to other parts of Europe have proven useful in understanding the diversity of social, political, economic, and cultural aspects of religious reform. The extant scholarship holds an unelaborated and unproblematized understanding that the reform of the Swedish kingdom's church was characterized by regional and diocesan differences.[43] Nonetheless, the scholarship has not demonstrated any significant curiosity about those differences. There is but

41 For example, Kaarlo Arffman, "Reformaatio—milloin ja miksi," 103–118; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1, 356; Ilmari Salomies, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 2 (Helsinki: Otava, 1949), 236–239. The "slowness" of Finland's reformation has been also been upheld by art historians, whose scholarship is examined in chapter seven.

42 For example, Otfried Czaika, "Die Konfessionaliserung im Schwedischen Reich," *Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seuran vuosikirja* 97 (2007): 73–98.

43 This unelaborated understanding is expressed in many of the overviews of the Reformation period, such as Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria* and Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia*.

one regional study of the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia: Karl Henning's study of the Diocese of Strängnäs under Duke Charles of Södermanland during the second half of the sixteenth century.[44] This dearth of regional and local studies extends to all of Scandinavia.[45] One can consider the significant body of scholarship on the Reformation in Finland to have a regional or social frame of reference, but much of it is very focused on one narrow question and often understands Finland implicitly as an integral nation rather than a part of a larger kingdom.

This book makes a methodological case for studying the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom on a regional level by studying Finland as a region in the wider context of church reform. This regional study challenges the prevailing narrative of the Swedish kingdom's Reformation written from the standpoint of the Crown and central church leaders. It also shifts the scholarly perspective from the center to more peripheral areas and addresses the impact, reception, and interaction rather than just the initiation of reform. Moreover, the research herein uncovers new dimensions about Finland's Reformation era, such as the relationship between reform and social change, as well as the impact of the Russian threat on reform. It underscores the differences and similarities of reform in Finland in comparison to the rest of the Swedish kingdom, Scandinavia, the Baltics, and the rest of Europe.

More specifically, this book argues that much of the course of Finland's Reformation was formed by its location as both a frontier of royal and Lutheran reform. Finland's experience during the Reformation era is a story worth telling, and using the conceptual framework of a frontier is an effective means by which to tell that story. In two ways, Finland was a frontier of royal reform during the era of Gustav Vasa. First, Finland in many instances experienced the king's various takeovers of ecclesiastical wealth and property later than other

44 Karl Henning, *Strängnäs stift och den liturgiska striden* (Stockholm: G. Chelius, 1893).

45 For example, for Denmark see Hans Valdemar Gregersen, *Reformationen i Sønderjylland* (Aabenraa: Historisk samfund for Sønderjylland, 1986); Ole Peter Grell, "The Emergence of Two Cities: The Reformation in Malmø and Copenhagen," in *Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund*, ed. Leif Grane and Kai Hørby (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 129–145; Gösta Johannesson, *Den skanska kyrkan och reformationen* (Lund: Gleerup, 1947); Henrik Lundbak, *"Såfremt som vi skulle vaere deres dydlige borgere:" Rådene i København og Malmø 1516–1536 og deres politiske virksomhed i det feudale samfund* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1985); Sinikka Neuhaus, *Reformation och erkännande: skillsmässoärenden under den tidiga reformationsprocessen i Malmö 1527–1542* (Lund: University of Lund, 2009); Erik Persson, *Reformation i Skåneland* (Malmö: Bokförlaget Scandia, 1934).

parts of the Swedish kingdom. Since the church owned in Finland relatively little land, Gustav's confiscations did not have the impact on Finland that it did on other parts of the kingdom. Many of his moves to change the church's administration either failed or took decades to complete. Second, the church participated in Gustav Vasa's drive to expand and strengthen the kingdom's eastern border. Reformer Mikael Agricola died in 1557 on his return trip from Russia after having helped negotiate a peace treaty.[46] This study argues that the Russian threat encouraged the king, Finland's elites, and Finland's freeholding peasantry to avoid protracted organized conflict among them in the question of church reform.

In two ways, Finland acted as a frontier of Lutheran reform. First, on the northeastern edge of Western Christianity, the pressures for reform that existed elsewhere in Western Christendom were not as strong. In a frontier such as Finland, outside ideas and influences are easily altered to meet local conditions. Reform for the clergy in Finland and in the Swedish kingdom meant emphasizing the authority of scripture and proclaiming God's Word in the vernacular rather than implementing the whole detailed Lutheran theological apparatus of justification by faith, the priesthood of believers, and so forth. Second, frontiers often are open to multiple sources of authority. Influences of Lutheran reform came to Finland from the western part of the Swedish kingdom, through the eastern Baltic, and directly from Germany. Reformers had to contend with not only medieval Roman Catholic belief but also pre-Christian pagan belief systems as well.

Place in Finland's History

Studying Finland as a region is relevant because of the overall significance of place in Finland's history. Most scholarly and popular understandings of Finland's past can be boiled down to the following sentence: Finland first was a part of Sweden, then a part of Russia, then a place separate from the two. Since its independence in 1917, historians have continued to confront problems of place, whether they concern Finland's place in World War II, in the Cold War, or in European integration. Historians have struggled to create a national historical narrative for a country that, for most of its historical existence, has not been a visible independent entity on the map of Europe. This national tradition in historiography that prevailed particularly before World War II had

46 Kari Tarkiainen, ed., *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut 1557* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007).

sought to emphasize Finland's distinctness as a part of the Swedish kingdom, to which Finland belonged until 1809. Moreover, it located Finland as "an outpost of Western Civilization" against "the East," that is, Russia.[47]

Since the 1960s, several scholars have advanced new understandings of Finland's place. Thinking beyond the constraints of modern nationalism, historians have taken a more flexible and nuanced approach to Finland's regionality within the Swedish kingdom. The historian Nils Erik Villstrand has best summarized this approach to Finland in the Swedish realm by stating that "there was no Finland, there was a Finland, there were two [Finlands], and there were many [Finlands]."[48]

No Finland existed as an entity different from the rest of the Swedish kingdom in either a negative or a positive sense; nor did Finland exist as a subjugated Swedish colony. The ownership by Finland's peasants of well over ninety percent of the farmland precluded the existence of a Swedish landowning class similar to the German barons in the eastern Baltic. No Finland existed as a separate sovereign entity within the Swedish realm. It was an integral part of the Swedish kingdom. The Kingdom of Sweden did not consist of one monarch ruling two states. Thus, the frequently used term "Sweden-Finland" is misleading.[49]

A Finland did exist as a geographic expression applied to the kingdom's areas east of the Gulf of Bothnia. Like many geographic expressions, its boundaries often were vague and shifted over time. Sometimes a Finland existed as a distinct administrative unit within the Kingdom of Sweden. In some other instances, administrative units within the Kingdom of Sweden embraced areas on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia.[50] Areas that today constitute Finnish Lapland constituted parts of dioceses that included areas west of the Gulf of Bothnia until after Finland became a part of the Russian Empire in 1809. In any case, Finland as a geographic or administrative expression was a creation of kings and local elites, not an expression of the common people.[51] The longest

47 For a concise article on the history and historiography of Finland's eastern border see Kimmo Katajala, "Zwischen West und Ost: 800 Jahre an der Ostgrenze Finnlands," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 23 (2010): 81–110; Lavery, *History of Finland*, 17, 101.

48 Nils Erik Villstrand, "Stormaktstiden 1617–1721," in *Finlands historia*, vol. 2, ed. Rainer Fagerlund, Kurt Jern, and Nils Erik Villstrand (Espoo: Schildts, 1996), 130.

49 Otfried Czaika, *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 2002), 20–21; Villstrand, "Stormaktstiden," 130.

50 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta: Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809*, 3rd edition (Helsinki: WSOY, 2008), 26–28.

51 Torbjörn Eng, *Det svenska väldet: Ett konglomerat av uttrycksformer och begrepp från Vasa till Bernadotte* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2001), 118–150, 440–41.

lasting of these elite creations of Finland was the medieval Diocese of Turku. From the early twelfth century, the Diocese of Turku was frequently referred to as "Finland." Paulus Juusten in his chronicle of Finland's bishops refers to the bishops not as belonging to the Diocese of Turku but rather to Finland.[52] In the medieval era, Finland also was called "Eastern Land" (*Itämaa/Österland*).[53]

There were two Finlands in that the southwestern part of the Finnish Peninsula formed the eastern half of the political, cultural, and economic center of the Swedish realm, with the area around the kingdom's capital Stockholm as the western half. The rest of Finland belonged to the peripheral areas of the Swedish kingdom that included areas on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia. Two Finlands also existed in the sense that most of the Finnish Peninsula lay under the Swedish Crown, but smaller areas were at times under the rule of Russia and its predecessors.[54]

In fact, there were many Finlands. The medieval and early modern periods preceded the triumph of the centralized modern nation-state, in which citizens see their nation as their primary and often only loyalty in society. Regions and communities had a greater significance for people than they do today. Language served as a mode of communication and not a basis for group identity. One could say with only a bit of exaggeration that most medieval and early modern polities consisted merely of collections of culturally, economically, and or politically autonomous regions under a common ruler.[55]

Recent historiography has rejected the understanding of Finland as an outpost of Western civilization and instead embraced Finland as a place where western and eastern Europe have intersected since prehistoric times. From the middle of the twelfth century until the early eighteenth century, Swedish power expanded eastward over the Finnish peninsula at the expense of Novgorod and later Russia. In 1809, Finland became the westernmost part of an eastern European empire—Russia. Finland's place as a confluence of East and West is seen clearly in religion. Both Eastern and Western Christianity established a presence on the Finnish peninsula by the end of the twelfth century. Although

52 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 55.

53 Kari Tarkiainen, *Finlands svenska historia*, vol. 1, *Sveriges Österland från forntiden till Gustav Vasa* (Helsingfors: Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008); Jouko Vahtola, "Keskiaika," in *Suomen historian pikkujättiläinen*, ed. Seppo Zetterberg (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 55.

54 Czaika, *David Chytraeus*, 20–21; Lavery, *History of Finland*, 31–32; Kaarlo Österbladh, "Suomen papiston edustus Ruotsin vallan aikaisilla valtiopäivillä," *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 21 (1931): 287–302; Pentti Renvall, *Finsk representation i Sveriges riksdag* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1967), 25–46; Villstrand, "Stormaktstiden," 130.

55 Lavery, *History of Finland*, 32–33; Villstrand, "Stormaktstiden," 134–35.

Western Christianity became dominant over the following centuries, Finland over the centuries has been exposed to influences from Eastern Christianity. Many of the basic words of the Finnish liturgical lexicon, such as *raamattu* (Bible), *risti* (cross), and *pappi* (priest/pastor) come from the Slavic languages spoken to the east of early medieval Finland.[56] The return of Roman Catholicism to Finland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century did not originate from Rome—but rather from St. Petersburg. In more recent times, the aforementioned Mannermaa School of theology developed in part out of a dialogue with eastern Orthodoxy.[57]

A Word on Sources

The scholarship on the Swedish kingdom's Reformation and early modern period in general has tended to study developments in the kingdom's western and eastern halves in isolation from each other. This tendency toward methodological nationalism is enhanced by the physical location of archival sources. Most of the archival sources relevant to the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia are located in the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm. Those pertaining to areas east are located in Helsinki in Finland's National Archives. Until the nineteenth century, all of the archives of the Swedish kingdom concerning the Crown's activities were located in Stockholm. When the Swedish Crown ceded Finland to Russia as part of the Peace of Fredrikshamn in 1809, it agreed to transfer to Finland all archives concerning Finland. Transfer of archival materials occurred in the years 1810–1812, 1825, and 1864. Some collections relating to Finland, such as those in the collection *Röda serien*, were never transferred to Finland.[58] Many of these collections were microfilmed after World War II for use in Finland's National Archives. The archives in both Helsinki and Stockholm are further opening access by digitizing sources. One can only speculate about the development of Reformation scholarship if scholars from Sweden and Finland had to conduct research in the Swedish kingdom's archives as constituted before 1809. Might there have been less of a temptation to fall into methodological nationalism?

56 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 14.

57 This Orthodox-Lutheran dialogue is covered throughout Braaten and Jenson, eds., *Union with Christ*; Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 14; Lavery, *History of Finland*, 65.

58 Jan Brunius, *Vasatidens samhälle: En vägledning till arkiven 1520–1620 i Riksarkivet* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2009), 191–192.

In comparison to primary sources concerning the Reformations in central and western Europe, the primary sources in respect to Finland lack variety, quality, and quantity. Over the centuries, archives have succumbed to fires, such as the ones that ravaged Turku in 1546 and 1827.[59] Finland's towns do not have council protocols or consistorial records that date back to Gustav Vasa's era. Pamphlets (*Flugschriften*) have not survived. Reformers, such as Mikael Agricola and Paulus Juusten, primarily worked on putting the Word of God into Finnish rather than writing sophisticated theological treatises or polemical essays.

One can speculate that, even if the elements had not destroyed so many written records over the centuries, the body of available sources still might not resemble those in other parts of Europe. In his book on Tycho Brahe's scientific community on the island of Hven, John Christianson states that the conflicts between Danish and German scientists stemmed from the difference between the Germans' culture of elaboration and the Danes' culture of simplification. In a politically, culturally, and religiously diverse German society, a greater emphasis was placed on the authority of written elaborative discourse as a means of managing personal and public relations. The more homogenous societies of Scandinavia did not require their participants to articulate common codes in writing. Relationships were much less formal even if they were as binding as those in cultures of elaboration.[60] The legal system of the Swedish kingdom was still based mostly on Germanic customary law. Significant change in such a customary legal system and culture can occur by informal rolling consensus rather than through formal full-stop decision-making.

Most of the written primary sources fall into four categories. The first consists of royal documents and correspondence. The best known of these sources is *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, the published twenty-nine volumes of Gustav Vasa's correspondence. The second group consists of the writings of ecclesiastical reformers, such as Mikael Agricola and Paulus Juusten. A third major collection consists of hymnals, missals, and other liturgical literature, much of it fragmentary, largely housed in the Finnish National Library. The fourth major body of sources consists of the bailiff's accounts. The king's bailiffs created these thousands of bound booklets. Often the books are covered with parchment taken from medieval ecclesiastical manuscripts. These booklets consist of records of tax collection, court decisions, as well as correspondence of various kinds. The correspondence from the bailiff's accounts has

59 Kauko Pirinen, "Suomen keskiaikaiset arkistot," *Historiallinen arkisto* 52 (1947): 47–110.

60 John A. Christianson, *On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe and his Assistants 1570–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 157–158.

been published in various source editions since the late nineteenth century. Since Gustav Vasa's interest in the church was primarily economic, the bailiff's accounts afford insights into important social and economic changes brought on by Gustav's actions. While hundreds of these books exist from the era of Gustav Vasa, they are not comprehensive. For areas in the Diocese of Turku, they begin in the late 1530s and after that records are not available for every place and every year.

Many of the primary sources have appeared in multiple editions. A document from the 1520s and 1530s might be available in Gustav's *registratur*, Reinhold Hausen's edition of sources on medieval Finland, *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, and A. I. Arwidsson's *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*. In most of these instances, Gustav's *registratur* will be the source normally cited, since this work is the most widely available. In some cases until and including 1530, *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* will be used, since this collection is available widely in print and online.[61]

61 The URL for *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* is http://extranet.narc.fi/DF/index.htm (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

CHAPTER 1

The Church and Medieval Finland

Like most studies of the sixteenth-century Reformations, this one begins with a survey of the relevant medieval background. From the twelfth century onward, the Roman Catholic Church established Finland as its northeastern frontier. In addition to advancing Roman Catholic Christianity, the medieval church contributed to Finland's development in three ways that endured into the Reformation era and beyond. First, the church advanced the interests of temporal power. Second, it contributed to the creation of Finland as a distinct entity. Third, the church served as a major importer of European cultural innovations. Moreover, the church had been engaged in significant and meaningful reform for decades before the arrival of Lutheran reform in the sixteenth century.

Land and People

The medieval Diocese of Turku encompassed the territory of modern-day Finland except for its most northern and eastern parts: Lapland, northeastern Oulu Province, Kainuu, and Northern Karelia. It reached into the western half of the Karelian Isthmus, which no longer belongs to Finland. The diocese was about the size of the American state of Utah, slightly smaller than Romania and slightly larger than Belarus. Forests covered most of this land. Much of the rest was and is filled with water—lakes, swamps, and rivers. In the early seventeenth century, a Dutch traveler, Andreas van Wouv, wrote that "this land [Finland] is rich in water. One cannot go a mile without encountering a lake or river, all filled with fish."[1] The country's waterways provided the transportation infrastructure for Finland's churches: about three-fourths of medieval Finland's churches lay by rivers and lakes.[2] Those seeking a church often had to travel a long way. In his history of Scandinavia published in 1555, Olaus Magnus mentions that long distances limited Finns' church attendance to once or

1 Sune Hildebrand, ed., *En holländsk beskicknings resor i Ryssland, Finland och Sverige 1615–1616* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1917), 220–221.

2 Jukka Korpela, *The World of Ladoga: Society, Trade, Transformation, and State Building in the Eastern Fennoscandian Boreal Forest Zone c. 1000–1555* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008), 197.

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twice a year, usually for baptisms.[3] Over a half-century later, Andreas van Wouv described the eastern Savo (Savolax) region as one in which "churches are very few in this land. I believe fully and firmly, that many of the inhabitants have never seen, much less been in a church. Over the course of the seventy miles that we traveled we saw four at the most five churches; they are made of wood or stone and are built as shabbily as a peasant barn. Once a year an examiner or preacher comes through the land to preach and baptize, but he cannot reach all people."[4]

By 1570 Finland's population had reached at least 300,000.[5] The population during the previous centuries had grown slowly but steadily. An abundance of unsettled arable land allowed a growing population to feed itself. To an even greater degree than medieval and early modern Europeans on average, Finns lived from agriculture. Exports consisted of agricultural items, such as butter, fish, pelts, horses, and hides. Only in the seventeenth century would Finland become a major exporter of pine tar and other wood products.[6] The country avoided frequent outbreaks of catastrophic population loss from protracted wars, widespread crop failures, and epidemics. For the most part, Finland was largely spared from the most devastating epidemic in European history: the Black Death that spread over Europe in the years 1347–1351. Until the outbreak of the Black Death, immigration contributed significantly to Finland's population growth. Swedes first migrated to Finland's southwestern regions. From the late twelfth century onward, they colonized the south-central coastal region of Uusimaa (Nyland). Most Swedish settlements arose in largely uninhabited areas along the coastal regions. Swedish as well as German merchants migrated to Finland's cities in the medieval era.[7]

No reliable numbers exist concerning the total number of immigrants or the linguistic makeup of Finland's medieval population. Probably less than

3 Olaus Magnus, *Pohjoisten kansojen historia: Suomea koskevat kuvaukset*, ed. Kustaa Vilkuna, trans. Kaarle Hirvonen (Helsinki: Otava, 1977), 73–74.

4 Hildebrand, *Holländsk beskicknings resor*, 221

5 Kari Pitkänen, "Suomen väestön historialliset kehityslinjat," in *Suomen väestö*, ed. Seppo Koskinen (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1994), 48; Jouko Vahtola, *Suomen historia jääkaudesta Euroopan unioniin* (Keuruu: Otava, 2003), 60.

6 Sven-Erik Åström, *From Tar to Timber: Studies in Northeast European Forest Exploitation and Foreign Trade 1660–1860* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1988); Yrjö Kaukiainen, "Suomen asuttaminen," in *Suomen taloushistoria*, vol. 1, ed. Eino Jutikkala et al. (Helsinki: Tammi, 1980), 106–114; Raimo Ranta, "Ulkomaan- ja kotimaankauppa," in *Suomen taloushistoria*, vol. 1, ed. Eino Jutikkala et al. (Helsinki: Tammi, 1980), 266–293.

7 Korpela, *World of Ladoga*, 274–275; Pitkänen, "Suomen väestön historialliset kehityslinjat," 48; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 60.

twenty percent spoke Swedish as a first language. German speakers comprised one to two percent of the population. The rest spoke Finnish as its first language. Even though Swedish was the language of administration in medieval and early modern Finland, no single official or national language existed in the medieval or early modern periods. Until the sixteenth century, Latin was the language of the church. In the cities of the Swedish kingdom, German sometimes was spoken more frequently than Swedish. Among royal and ecclesiastical officials in Finland, proficiency in Finnish was common. The Swedish kingdom's armies even used Finnish as language of command.[8] Linguistic difference did not create the basis for political conflict. The arrival of the Swedes did not create the kind of conflict that existed in Ireland between Gaelic and Norman-English elites.[9]

Power in the Swedish kingdom was exercised by four major social groups, or estates: the peasantry, burghers, clergy, and nobles. All of these estates participated in local decision-making as well as the kingdom's politics. In Finland, peasants owned over ninety percent of the land, probably the highest ownership rate in Europe. In Sweden west of the Gulf of Bothnia, peasants owned only about half of the land, still a large share by European standards. The peasantry's widespread land ownership and political power, especially in local matters, has created the impression of the medieval and early modern Swedish kingdom as an egalitarian society. While the peasantry held most of the land, noble and ecclesiastical holdings usually consisted of the most fertile lands in strategic locations, such as along waterways. Influential on a local level, the peasantry did not hold any of the kingdom's important offices. Peasants paid more taxes as a percentage of income than those of other estates. This burden became much heavier in the early modern period. Widespread poverty marked rural life. The Dutch traveler van Wouv wrote about several encounters with beggars. Most of the milling of grain was done by hand "as mustard seeds are ground in Holland."[10] Violence among the peasantry was widespread.

8 Sulo Huovinen, "Finska språkets ställlning i det svenska riket," in *Finland i det svenska riket*, ed. Sulo Huovinen (Stockholm: Kulturfonden för Sverige och Finland, 1986), 66–67; Hanna-Leena Sainio, "Keskialasaksa," in *Keskiajan avain*, ed. Marko Lamberg, Anu Lahtinen, and Susanna Niiranen (Helsinki: SKS, 2009), 477–489.

9 Karl S. Bottingheimer and Ute Lotz-Heumann, "The Irish Reformation in European Perspective," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 87 (1998): 268–309; Marko Lamberg, "Finns as Aliens and Compatriots in the Later Medieval Kingdom of Sweden," in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Outi Merisalo (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études mŶédiévales: 2006), 121–132; Marko Lamberg and Petri Karonen, "Finnar och finskhet i det svenska riket," *Finsk tidskrift* 257–258 (2005): 39–56.

10 Hildebrand, *Holländsk beskicknings resor*, 222.

Most of the entries in the sixteenth-century bailiffs' records consist of fines levied against peasants for assault. Heikki Ylikangas has uncovered this widespread violence as a product of a peasant culture in which honor was considered one of the most valuable possessions a person had—a possession whose protection justified the use of violence.[11]

At the end of his reign, King Gustav Vasa had a low view of the Finnish peasantry. During a war with Russia in 1556, Gustav wrote to his son, John, that "the Finnish peasants have very odd and unstable manners, so that when one uses them in such [military] situations, as now is occurring against our enemy [Russia], they lack obedience. When one wants them to go against the enemy, they begin to organize against their own commanders and authorities and rob and steal, and beat them as easily as one would the enemy." According to the king, excessive drinking fueled most of this behavior.[12]

Another estate, the burghers, inhabited and led the cities. They made up only a small percentage of a city's total inhabitants and a few tenths of a percent of Finland's total population. They were politically the least influential of the four estates. Finland in 1500 had six cities with royal charters that provided the internal autonomy and special commercial privileges associated with cities in the Swedish kingdom: Ulvila (Ulvsby), Rauma (Raumo), Naantali (Nådendal), and Turku on the west coast, Porvoo (Borgå) on the southern coast and Vyborg on the Karelian Isthmus.[13] Of these cities, the two most important were Turku and Vyborg. Turku served as the ecclesiastical, administrative, and commercial center of the country. It lay on the banks of the Aura River on the southwestern tip of the Finnish peninsula. At the beginning of the Reformation era, it had possibly as many as 2,000–3,000 inhabitants.[14] Vyborg, with an estimated population of 1,200–2,000, served as a commercial center for those merchants seeking access to the Russian market. For the kingdom, the city's fortress stood as an important redoubt against an attack from the east.[15]

The nobility, comprising a few tenths of a percent of the population, was the most politically and economically powerful estate. In general, European

11 Heikki Ylikangas, "Väkivaltarikosten motivaatiopohja 1500-luvulla Suomessa," *Historiallinen arkisto* 65 (1971): 86–205.

12 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur,* vol. 26 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1911), 46–47.

13 Jouko Vahtola, "Keskiaika," in *Suomen historian pikkujättiläinen*, ed. Seppo Zetterberg (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 50, 72–74, 114–16; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 381.

14 Kari Uotila, "Mikael Agricolan Turku," in *Agricolan aika*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 239–241.

15 J.-P. Taavitsainen, "Mikael Agricolan Viipuri vai Viipurin Mikael Agricola," in *Agricolan aika*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 212–241.

nobles were characterized by their conduct of warfare for the king, their significant land holdings, and their legal authority over those who lived on their land. The Swedish kingdom's nobility developed these traits very slowly if ever. Only with great difficulty can one apply the term nobility to the Swedish kingdom before the sixteenth century. The group that eventually became the nobility was in the medieval era known as the *frälse* in Swedish (*rälssi* in Finnish), a word meaning those free from taxation. Those who provided the king with a fully armed cavalryman received an exemption from taxation. Large landowning families as well as some peasants were able to buy this tax-exempt status. Over the medieval period, the *frälse* strengthened their tax-free privileges, regardless of service. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *frälse* began to look more like European nobility. In 1569, King John (Johan) III formally made the status of *frälse* hereditary. In Finland the *frälse* possessed about three percent of the land. Unlike elsewhere in Europe, nobles had very limited legal authority over the inhabitants of their land. Civil justice and administration largely belonged to the king.[16]

Out of the *frälse* came much of medieval Finland's ecclesiastical leadership. The first known bishop of noble background was Bero Balk (r. 1385–1412). After him every bishop of Turku until the beginning of the Reformation era belonged to the nobility, except for Laurentius Suurpää (1500–1506), who came from a burgher family in Turku. Members of the *frälse* held leadership positions throughout the church's hierarchy. Finland's only nunnery at Naantali served as a home for unmarried and elderly noble women.[17]

In short, Finland defies many common imaginations concerning medieval and early modern European society. Finland did not have large cities run by rich oligarchs whose influence reached beyond their city's walls. The manorial system did not predominate. The influences of the Renaissance only touched the handful of those who had spent time in more southern places. Medieval Finland also diverged from the norm in terms of the estate that will receive the most focus in this study—the clergy. Probably no more than three hundred men at the

16 Eljas Orrman, "Talonpoikainen yhteiskunta," in *Suomen maatalouden historia*, vol. 1, *Perinteisen maatalouden aika: Esihistoriasta 1870-luvulle*, ed. Viljo Rasila, Eino Jutikkala, and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), 120; Vahtola, "Keskiaika," 114–116; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 58–59.

17 Eric Anthoni, *Finlands medeltids frälse och 1500-adel* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1970), 189–190; Birgit Klockars, *I Nådens dal; Klosterfolk och andra c. 1440–1590* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1979); Kari Uotila, ed., *Naantalin luostarin rannassa—arkipäivä Naantalin luostarissa ja sen liepeillä* (Kaarina: Muuritutkimus, 2011).

beginning of the sixteenth century, Finland's clergy played a leading role in developing both ecclesiastical and temporal institutions during the medieval era.

The Church and the Swedish Crown's Eastward Expansion

The close cooperation between temporal and ecclesiastical power during the medieval era is illustrated by the most commonly known story of Finland's creation as a historical entity. According to this account, in 1155 King Eric of Sweden and Bishop Henry of Uppsala led a crusade across the Gulf of Bothnia to convert the heathen Finns. This operation ended in the murder of Bishop Henry at the hands of a peasant named Lalli at Lake Köyliöjärvi near the village of Kokemäki (Kumo) in the southwestern part of the country. The medieval sources suggest that Lalli was not a pagan but a Christian outraged about new church taxes. The church in Finland would later honor the bishop's work by proclaiming him the country's patron saint. King Eric, himself later murdered in Uppsala in 1160, became Sweden's patron saint.

This narrative still prevails in popular understandings of Finland's past, even though scholarship has reduced this creation story to a vague approximation. Much of this reevaluation stems from a lack of primary source materials pertaining to the event and actors. The earliest and most frequently used source about the crusade, the legend of St. Henry, comes from the late thirteenth century. No known records refer to Bishop Henry during his lifetime or to his later canonization process. In short, the existence of a Bishop Henry lacks definitive proof. Primary source materials concerning King Eric suffice to prove his existence as a historical person, but not his participation in this crusade.[18]

Despite decades of debates over the details, a scholarly consensus exists concerning the outlines of the crusade. It most likely occurred in the second half of the 1150s, the most likely year 1157, on a much smaller scale than has been commonly believed. The flotilla of crusaders probably consisted of some small ships that landed somewhere on the southwestern coast. Representatives of the Swedish Crown and the church likely led the operation. The crusaders encountered a population already used to dealing with visitors from the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia for centuries. Evidence suggests that the Swedish Crown was collecting taxes from the eastern side of the Gulf of Bothnia already in the eleventh century. Christian influences in material culture and burial patterns had existed there even longer. This mission aimed not so much at the conversion of

18 Tuomas Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda* (Helsinki: SKS, 2005), 22–23, 53–54, 226–238; Jason Lavery, *History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006), 26.

an insular pagan population as at the formalization of Rome's ecclesiastical and Sweden's temporal control over the eastern half of the Gulf of Bothnia.[19]

This crusade occurred in the context of a wider competition among various temporal and ecclesiastical powers in the Baltic Sea region in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In 1147, Pope Eugene III announced an absolution of sins for crusaders against the pagans in the Baltic. Orthodox Christianity was spreading into Karelia, in large part because of the growth of Novgorod's political and economic influence. The cities of the German Hanse sought to expand their commercial reach all over the Baltic Sea. Another German force, the Teutonic Knights, moved into the eastern Baltic coast in order to Christianize pagan populations. The Danes were making moves as well, taking northern Estonia in 1219. In their expansion, the Danish church and Crown established a presence in Finland as well. This presence disappeared with the end of the Danish Baltic empire in 1223.[20]

Scholars agree that this crusade of Eric and Henry did not establish firmly the power of either the church or the Swedish Crown on the Finnish peninsula. The lack of strong temporal and ecclesiastical leadership for the rest of the twelfth century diminished the immediate significance of this crusade. In 1171 or 1172, Pope Alexander III issued a bull complaining that the people of Finland were only loyal Christians in the presence of the Swedish troops. According to the pope, priests frequently were subject to physical harm. Despite the hostile conditions, the church continued to organize the area administratively. In 1216 Pope Innocent III empowered the Swedish king to create one or two episcopal seats for the Finnish peninsula under the archbishop of Uppsala. By the middle of the century, a diocese encompassing that part of the Finnish peninsula held by the Swedish monarch was created.[21]

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19 Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, 57–60; Tuomas Heikkilä and Samu Niskanen, *Europan synty: Keskiajan historia* (Helsinki: Edita, 2004), 192; Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), 16–17; Markus Hiekkanen, "Kristinuskon tulo Suomeen," in *Suomen kulttuurihistoria*, vol. 1, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Timo Joutsivuo (Keuruu: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi, 2002), 76–83; Lavery, *History of Finland*, 26; Vahtola, "Keskiaika," 48–52; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 35–39.

20 Lavery, *History of Finland*, 27–28; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, "Kirkko ja kruunu," in *Suomen kulttuurihistoria*, vol. 1, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Timo Joutsivuo (Keuruu: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi, 2002), 104–111; John Lind, "Denmark and Early Christianity in Finland," *Suomen museo* 113 (2006): 39–54; Vahtola, "Keskiaika," 48–54.

21 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 15–17, 20–21; Lavery, *History of Finland*, 26–27; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 37–38.

The church not only aided in the expansion of Swedish power eastwards, but also it helped the Crown establish its authority over Finland. The Swedish Crown followed the church in creating bureaucracy, a judiciary, and tax collection. The Crown's and the church's grip over Finland increased as a result of three military campaigns during the thirteenth century. The first campaign, under the command of Finland's Bishop Thomas (r. circa 1225–1245), conquered Häme (Tavastland) in south-central Finland. Moving eastward, Thomas's army reached deep into Karelia before Novgorod's army under Prince Alexander Nevski crushed it at the Neva River in 1240. The second campaign, launched in the year 1249 by Birger Jarl, the brother-in-law of King Eric XI, completed the Swedish Crown's control over Häme. The contest for the Finnish peninsula between Sweden and Novgorod shifted to Karelia.

In 1293, Marshal Tyrgils Knutsson and Bishop Benottenrici Korp of Västerås led the last of thirteenth-century campaigns on the Finnish peninsula. The invasion of Karelia at first went well, resulting in conquest of the Karelian Isthmus by the year 1300. Then for the next quarter-century the front would vacillate radically, with Novgorod's forces plundering Turku in 1318. In 1323 Sweden and Novgorod concluded the Peace of Nöteborg. The treaty ended hostilities as well as partitioned Sweden's and Novgorod's interests on the Finnish Peninsula. Historians have long understood the treaty as drawing a border from the southern end of the Karelian Isthmus roughly dividing the land bridge into western and eastern halves. The border then continued to follow a roughly northwestern route, eventually following the Pyhäjoki River to the Gulf of Bothnia. A more recent interpretation asserts that the border actually forked off into Savo, with one border running west to the Gulf of Bothnia, and another running north to the White Sea. The land in between formed an area of joint jurisdiction. All scholars agree that, regardless of how the actual border was demarcated, it was, like most premodern political borders, a rough and porous approximation. For the two parties to the treaty the crucial border ran through the Karelian Isthmus northwest toward approximately the modern–day town of Varkaus in southern Savo. This part of the border was well delineated. Neither side saw it in its interest in having the rest of the border well defined. As Jukka Korpela has pointed out, the demarcation of a firm boundary was unnecessary since, "there was enough land for everybody," or, another way to put it, too few people to make any territorial claim stick. An example of this indifference is an agreement in 1346 struck between Bishop Hemmingus (1338–1366) of Turku and Archbishop Hemmingus of Uppsala that drew the border between their sees between the Kemijoki and Kaakamojoki Rivers—an area well to the north of the Nöteborg border.[22] By the

22 Torsten Edgren and Lena Törnblom, *Finlands historia*, vol. 1 (Espoo: Schildts, 1993), 301–304; Jarl Gallén, *Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns*, vol. 1 (Helsinki:

beginning of Gustav Vasa's reign the parishes of Saloinen, Ii, and Kemi, occupied the coast north of the Pyhäjoki River. During Gustav's reign, new parishes would be founded to the north and east of the Nöteborg boundary.

The Peace of Nöteborg reduced the struggle over the Finnish peninsula to border skirmishes until the 1490s. The only prolonged interruption in this relatively peaceful period was King Magnus Eriksson's crusade in the years 1348–1351. Birgitta Birgersdotter, later known at St. Bridget (c. 1303–1373), leader of medieval Scandinavia's greatest revivalist movement, called on King Magnus Eriksson to launch a crusade against Novgorod. The war enjoyed the support of both Bridget and Bishop Hemmingus of Turku. The war ended in 1351 in no territorial gains for either side.[23]

Finland's Church and the Swedish Kingdom's Domestic Politics

The historian Michael Roberts has described the medieval Swedish kingdom as a *regimen politicum*, a form of rule in which the major social groups or estates, the large landowning magnates of the *frälse* in particular, often the church, and sometimes the peasantry, shared power with the king. The medieval Swedish constitution afforded the estates two effective checks on royal power. First, the king was supposed to govern with the advice of the Council of the Realm (*riksråd*) whose membership consisted of the bishops and representatives of the magnate families. Second, the estates elected and could remove the king.[24]

The church participated actively in the major struggle for authority of the late medieval era between the estates' desire to keep political power diffused

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Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1968), Jarl Gallén and John Lind, *Nöteborgsfreden och Finlands medeltida östgräns*, vols. 2–3 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland: 1991); Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 18–19; Korpela, *World of Ladoga*, 29; Lavery, *History of Finland*, 26–28; Ari-Pekka Palola, "Hemmingus," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/217/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016); Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 45–46. This summary of the military activities of the Swedish Crown in the fourteenth century is informed by the work of Jukka Korpela, who has called on scholars to avoid the term "crusade," since the religious motivations in these operations, especially in respect to the so-called second and third crusades, are not clear. This call for careful use of the term though should not ignore the fact that overall expansion of the Swedish Crown across the Finnish peninsula was aided by the church and served the church's interest. Korpela, *World of Ladoga*, 47.

23 Yngve Brilioth, *Svenska kyrkans historia*, vol. 2, *Den senare medeltiden 1274–1521* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1941), 98–99.

24 Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6–7.

and kings' aims to centralize power into their hands.[25] This struggle occurred in a wider Scandinavian context. From the early fourteenth century, each of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, had been combined with one or two of the others into some type of union. The most durable of the unions, the Kalmar Union, or the Union of the Three Crowns, was constituted in 1397 under Queen Margaret, who had been recognized as queen of Denmark and Norway in 1387 and then Sweden in 1389. The union was essentially under the Danish Crown. The creation of the Kalmar Union stemmed from the internal weaknesses of each of the three Scandinavian kingdoms in the face of growing German influence. The cities of the German Hanse dominated the foreign trade and influenced the internal politics of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The Hanse's leading city, Lübeck, was particularly powerful in Scandinavia. Many northern German princes were active in the region as well.[26]

The Kalmar Union proved fractious and unable to curb German influence. German princes succeeded Queen Margaret: Eric of Pomerania (1396–1439) and Christopher of Bavaria (1441–1448). Christopher's death without heirs offered an opportunity for the political elites of the three kingdoms to find their own successors. A Swedish nobleman, Karl Knutsson, gained the thrones of Norway and Sweden in 1448 and 1449 respectively. Over the course of the same two years, the Danes elected and crowned Duke Christian of Oldenburg king. The duke's supporters in Norway succeeded in overthrowing Karl Knutsson in the summer of 1450. Christian would not gain the Swedish Crown until Karl abdicated in the face of rebellion in 1457. Christian would be overthrown by his Swedish subjects in 1464.[27] These succession struggles set a precedent by which the Swedish nobility would sometimes choose to recognize the existence of the Scandinavian union but not the authority of the king in Copenhagen. Thereafter, with the exception of a handful of years, such as the reigns of John I (1497–1501) and Christian II (1520–1521), effective rule over Sweden was exercised by regents drawn from the magnate families of central Sweden—the Oxenstiernas, the Vasas, and the Stures. The church sought to

25 Sven-Erik Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 2, *Hög- och senmedeltid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 53–58, 143.

26 Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa* (London: MacMillian, 1970), 284; Jason Lavery, *Germany's Northern Challenge: The Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian Struggle for Baltic Hegemony 1563–1576* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002), 6–12; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 5–10.

27 William Mollerup, "Christian I," in *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, vol. 3, ed. C. F. Bricka (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels Forlag, 1889), 477–481. In the Middle Ages the Swedish and Danish monarchies were elective. The Norwegian Crown was hereditary.

protect itself from rulers seeking greater control over its property and major appointments by playing Union monarchs and regents against each other.[28]

Finland's medieval bishops did not participate as actively or consistently in these power struggles in comparison to other bishops in the Swedish realm. Physical distance often prevented Finland's elites from participating in meetings of the kingdom's elites, which were often held in towns west of the Gulf of Bothnia. Sailing from Turku to Stockholm lasted as long as a week. Stockholm often represented only a halfway point to meetings located in central or southern Sweden. Moreover, the leaders of Finland's church did not feel as much royal pressure on the church's liberties in comparison to their counterparts on the other side of the Gulf of Bothnia. The church's wealth and power was concentrated west of the Gulf of Bothnia. At the end of the medieval period, the church held over two percent of the land in Finland. In the entire kingdom, the church owned about thirteen percent of the land. In some parts of the kingdom, such as Västergötland and Östergötland, the church owned around thirty percent of the land.[29] Furthermore, because of Finland's location on an unstable eastern border, kings and regents often needed church leaders in Finland to exercise temporal power to defend the realm. At the same time, they saw similarly strong bishops west of the Gulf of Bothnia as a threat.

In the 1470s, tensions along the eastern border began to grow. In 1471 the Swedish kingdom's eastern antagonist was no longer Novgorod, but rather the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, known by the sixteenth century as Russia. The bishop and cathedral chapter began to assume a leading role in diplomacy with the eastern neighbor that the commander of Vyborg Castle had held over the previous decades. The growth of Russian power and the increasing threat of widespread conflict probably precipitated the involvement of diocesan officials—the only authorities whose administrative reach extended over the entire part of Finland ruled by the Swedish king. The first known case in which Finnish church officials became involved in the kingdom's foreign affairs in this new era of tension occurred in early 1475, when Bishop Conradus Bitz of Turku participated in a discussion at Vyborg Castle with Finland's other leading personages concerning Russian incursions on the border. In July 1488, the cathedral chapter's dean, Magnus Nicolai Särkilahti (Magnus Stjernkors), participated in negotiations that led to the creation of an alliance between

28 Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 160–163; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 5–10.

29 Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia*, vol. 3:1, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933), 34; Gunnar Olsson, *Stat och kyrka i Sverige vid medeltidens slut* (Göteborg: Erlanders boktryckeri, 1947), 306; Orrman, "Talonpoikainen yhteiskunta," 120; Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 146.

Sweden and the Livonian Knights. When Särkilahti became bishop in 1489, he began to cultivate support for the defense of Finland among the elites west of the Gulf of Bothnia. His diplomacy extended as far as Poland and Rome. In the winter of 1493, he had his own army of one hundred armed men and ninety cavalry, a large armed force for the time on the Finnish peninsula.[30]

At the end of the fifteenth century, Finland stood in the middle of a dangerous triangle between the supporters of Regent Sten Sture the Elder in Sweden, King John of Denmark, and Russia. At the encouragement of King John, the Russians invaded Finland in 1495 as a means of pressuring the Swedish kingdom's elites into accepting John formally as the king of the Kalmar Union over Sten Sture the Elder. After war erupted, Bishop Särkilahti put his own soldiers and money into the defense of Finland. Support from west of the Gulf of Bothnia was both slow and insufficient. The war ended in 1497 with John achieving his goal without ceding the Russians anything.[31] Over the course of the next two decades, the diocese's representatives often accompanied delegations to Russia to renew the peace treaty. John's success did not last long. He was overthrown again as king of Sweden in 1501 and replaced by Sten Sture the Elder. John sought and failed to reassert his control over Sweden in 1509. In the days of 2–3 August 1509, backed by a renewed alliance with Russia, a Danish naval force landed in Turku and raided the city for two days, taking with it some of the treasures of the bishop and cathedral. In 1516, the Danes returned the bishop's miter—minus its most expensive jewels. Because of King John's cultivation of the Russians, support for the union declined among the political elites in Finland.[32]

Despite its ability to exercise power independent of the Crown, Finland's church, like the kingdom's larger church, had lost some of its liberties and wealth to temporal power by the end of the fifteenth century. This development set the stage for the church to become more of an instrument than an ally of royal power in the Reformation era. Regent Sten Sture the Elder gained

30 Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli keskiajan lopussa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1956), 365–369; Seppo Suvanto, *Suomen poliittinen asema Sten Sturen vanhemman valtakautena vuosina 1483–1497* (Helsinki: SKS, 1952), 149–93, 303–304.

31 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 57–58; Suvanto, *Suomen poliittinen asema*, 305; Vahtola, *Suomen historia*, 48–49, 97–99.

32 Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, vol. 8 (Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1935), Document 5370; *FMU*, vol. 8, 5433; Petrus Nordman, ed., *Valda urkunder till Finlands historia*, vol. 4 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1899), 54; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli keskiajan lopussa*, 365–374, Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen poliittinen asema pohjoismaisen unionin loppuvaiheessa 1512–1523* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1953), 111–112.

from Pope Innocent VIII in 1491 the right to recommend for papal approval three of the Kingdom's seven bishops: the archbishop of Uppsala, and the bishops of Linköping and Turku. Although Sten and the other successive Sture regents were never able to use their special entitlement to fill the position in Turku, they did manage to increase the influence of temporal power in the Cathedral Chapter of Turku. The Sture regents pursued policies that set precedents for the royal confiscation of church property during the Reformation era. In respect to Finland the best known of these measures occurred during the 1495–1497 war with Russia when Sten Sture the Elder confiscated the collection chest in the Turku Cathedral dedicated to the canonization of Bishop Hemmingus (r. 1338–1366).[33]

The Church as an Agent of Regionality

While facilitating the expansion of the Swedish kingdom across the Finnish peninsula, the church at the same time made Finland a distinct region within the Swedish kingdom. From earliest times, the church had administered the area of the Finnish peninsula that belonged to the Swedish kingdom as a unity. A diocesan seat for Finland was established first in Nousiainen (Nousis), north of Turku. Then in 1229 Pope Gregory IX ordered the seat moved to Koroinen (Korois), east of Turku. By the end of thirteenth century, the church's headquarters had been moved to Turku, the country's growing commercial center. In 1259 a letter from Pope Alexander IV first refers to the head of the diocese as the bishop of Turku (*episcopus Aboensis*). In 1300 the cathedral in Turku was opened.[34] The diocese was one of seven in the medieval Kingdom of Sweden, the third largest in terms of income behind Uppsala and Linköping.[35] It ranked as the kingdom's largest diocese in terms of land area.[36]

33 Hemmingus was eventually beatified in 1514. Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 58–59; Gunnar Olsson, *Stat och kyrka*, 101–108; Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli keskiajan lopussa*, 405–407.

34 Tuomas Heikkilä and Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Keskiajan kirkko: Uskonelämän muotoja läntisessä kristikunnassa* (Helsinki: SKS, 2002), 352; Kari Tarkiainen, *Finlands svenska historia*, vol. 1, *Sveriges Österland från forntiden till Gustav Vasa* (Helsingfors: Stockholm: Atlantis, 2008), 188–190.

35 Mauno Jokipii, "Luterilaisuuden ensimmäinen vuosisata Suomessa," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 81 (1983): 270.

36 Aarre Läntinen, "Viipurin hiippakunnan perustamisen esivaiheet," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 80 (1982): 195–207; Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 95; Tarkiainen, *Sveriges Österland*, 194–95.

At the top of Finland's ecclesiastical hierarchy stood the bishop of Turku. The first Finnish-born bishop of Turku, Magnus, assumed the position in 1291. With the consecration of Bero Balk in 1385, all successive bishops of Turku would be born in Finland until the selection of Petrus Follingius in 1558.[37] Historians point to two reasons for the ability of the Finnish church to keep the episcopal seat in local hands. First, there were Finns qualified to take the position of bishop. Second, a strong cathedral chapter kept the seat in local hands by actively recruiting young, promising native-born clergymen into the work of the chapter. The chapter maintained contacts with officials in Stockholm, Uppsala, and Rome as a means of protecting local interests.[38] The bishop's authority over the entire kingdom east of the Gulf of Bothnia made him politically one of if not the most powerful man in Finland during the medieval era. With the taxes that the diocese collected, the gifts it received, and the lands that it owned, the bishop of Turku lorded over Finland's greatest concentration of wealth. This concentration requires some context. The church owned only around two percent of the land within the borders of the diocese. The annual income of the bishop of Turku in the mid-fourteenth century was about half the total cost of Pope Clement VI's installation banquet in 1342.[39]

Like elsewhere in Scandinavia, another key diocesan authority was the cathedral chapter. The chapter for the Diocese of Turku was founded in 1276. At the end of the medieval period, this collegial body had twelve members. The bishop himself was not a member. The cathedral dean led the chapter. During the Catholic medieval era, the chapter shouldered with the bishop the administration of the diocese. The chapter's clearest exercise of power came in the election of a new bishop for papal approval.[40] Beyond the city of Turku, deans acted as intermediate administrators between the bishop and chapter on the one hand and the individual parishes on the other. The

37 Ericus Svenonis, head of the diocese 1523–1527, was not born in Finland. He only held the title of bishop-elect and was never formally consecrated as bishop.

38 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 31–34; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli keskiajan lopussa*, 369–370.

39 Mika Kallioinen, *Kirkon ja kruunun välissä: Suomalaisten keskiaika* (Helsinki: Edita, 2001), 39,70.

40 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 21, 32–34; Jyrki Knuutila, "Kristillistymisen aika Suomessa—keskiaika," in *Kristinusko Suomessa*, ed. Aapo Laitinen (Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura, 2006), 73–76; Kauko Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja uskonpuhdistuskauden tuomikapituli 1276–1976," in *Turun Tuomiokapituli 1276–1976*, ed. Kauko Pirinen (Turku: Turun arkkihiippakunnan tuomiokapituli, 1976), 13–110.

borders of the deaneries were fluid during the medieval period with a dean usually overseeing five to ten parishes. In 1541, Finland had nineteen deaneries. Deans oversaw the implementation of the bishop's and chapter's decisions in individual parishes. They held judicial power in the parishes under their purview.[41]

The many gaps in the sources make it difficult to ascertain the exact year when many of medieval Finland's parishes were established. By 1540 there were around one hundred three parishes and forty-four semi-autonomous chapels.[42] The creation of new parishes did not keep up with eastward expansion of settlement. In October 1504, the Council of the Realm received from Bishop Laurentius Suurpää of Turku the following description of the situation in eastern Finland:

> Because of long distances over land and water, they [the people of Savo and Karelia] seldom come to church, some once every three or four years. Some never come. As a result, they remain lacking in the teachings of Christianity. They live like the Sámi [Lapps] and pagans to the endangerment of their souls. Seldom do they receive the church's holy sacrament, especially during the poor road conditions of the spring and fall. Often their children die without the Christian faith and baptism.[43]

The bishop received support from the Council of the Realm, local peasants, as well as from the commanders of Finland's two large fortresses along the eastern border, Olavinlinna (Savonlinna/Olofsborg) and Vyborg, for creation of chapels or "steed churches" that allowed for priests resident in the eastern parishes to reach more isolated settlements. The creation of new parishes in the east would have to wait until the Reformation era.[44]

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41 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 34; Kauko Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja 1500-luvun maarovasteista ja rovastinkäräjistä," in *Arce et vigilia: Studia historico-ecclesiastica in honorem Ilmari Salomies*, ed. Martti Parvio (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1963), 13–49.

42 Ari-Pekka Palola, "Yleiskatsaus Suomen keskiaikaisten seurakuntien perustamisajankohdista," *Faravid* 18–19 (1994–1995): 67–104.

43 *Registrum Ecclesiae Aboensis, eller Åbo domkyrkas Svartbok* (reprinted from 1892 edition, ed. Reinhold Hausen), ed. Elisa Pispala, trans. Jüri Kokkonen (Helsinki: Art House, 1996), 556–557.

44 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 36; *Registrum Ecclesiae Aboensis*, 556–557.

MAP 2 *The Swedish Kingdom and its Dioceses. Diocesan Map of Swedish Kingdom in 1523.* ADAPTED FROM PERTTI HAAPALA AND RAISA MARIA TOIVO, EDS., *SUOMEN HISTORIAN KARTASTO* (HELSINKI: KARTTAKERSKUS, 2007), 62. ADAPTED WITH PERMISSION

Priests born in Finland administered most of the diocese's parishes. There are no reliable numbers concerning the linguistic composition of the clergy. Evidence suggests that Finnish speakers were widespread. Although canon law gave the bishop the right to name parish priests, a selection was seldom made over the opposition of local parishioners. In the Swedish kingdom, local parishioners had a greater say in their parish's affairs than elsewhere in Europe.

TABLE 1 *Medieval Bishops of Turku*[45]

1. Henry c. 1157
2. Rodolfus
3. Folquinus
4. Thomas c. 1225–1245
5. Bero 1248–1258
6. Ragvaldus 1258–1266
7. Catillus 1266–1286
8. Johannes 1286–1290
9. Magnus 1291–1308
10. Ragvaldus 1309–1321
11. Benedictus 1321–1338
12. Hemmingus 1338–1366
13. Henricus Hartmanni 1366–1367
14. Johannes II Petri 1367–1370
15. Johannes III Westfal 1370–1385
16. Bero II Balk 1385–1412
17. Magnus II Tavast 1412–1450
18. Olaus Magni 1450–1460
19. Conradus Bitz 1460–1489
20. Magnus III Nicolai Särkilahti 1489–1500
21. Laurentius Suurpää 1500–1506
22. Johannes Olavi 1506–1510
23. Arvidus Kurck 1510–1522

Communities themselves often built churches and thus they claimed the right of patronage to select their priests as well. The widespread use of this right suggests that priests were often conversant in the community's primary language.[46]

45 Website of Finland's Evangelical Lutheran Church, http://www.evl.fi/arkkipiispa/piispat.htm (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

46 Eric Anthoni, "Det finländska prästerskapets härstamming och sammansättning intill början av 1400-talet," *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 32 (1947): 63–98; Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 2, 38–41; Jokipii, "Luterilaisuuden," 270; Tarkiainen, *Sveriges Österland*, 201–204; Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1, *Keskiaika ja uskonpuhdistuksen aika* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 44–45; Olav Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1946), 146–147.

Monasticism created a modest presence in Finland. The first order to establish itself, the Dominicans, founded a convent in the environs of Turku in 1249 and another in Vyborg in 1398. In the 1330s, the diocese adopted the Dominican liturgy. Cistercian monks based at the monastery of Padise in Estonia over the course of the fourteenth century acquired land and fisheries in southern Finland. In the fifteenth century, the Diocese of Turku assumed these holdings. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the Franciscans founded monasteries in Vyborg, Rauma, and on the island on Kökar in the Åland Islands. During his tenure as bishop, Magnus Tavast (r. 1412–1450) funded the creation of a Bridgettine abbey in Naantali. The abbey became independent of the main Bridgettine abbey in Vadstena in 1462.[47]

Finland's Medieval Church and European Culture

Medieval Finland lacked the wealthy urban elites and landed aristocracy that extensively supported cultural development elsewhere in Europe. Only the church had the financial and intellectual resources to bring Finland into the fold of European civilization. The church provided most of the formal education. The most prestigious school, the Cathedral School in Turku, educated young boys for both religious and secular careers. A school in Vyborg gave similar training. Smaller Latin schools operated in Rauma and Porvoo. Monasteries also provided educational opportunities. The Swedish kingdom did not have a university until a small and often moribund one was established in Uppsala in 1477. In Finland, a university was founded only in 1640 in Turku. During the Middle Ages, some 140 students from Finland studied in foreign universities, at first primarily in Prague until the Hussite Wars, then in Paris, and then later in the sixteenth century in German universities. Most of the students returned from university to serve the church. The most notable among these students, Olaus Magni, served as rector of the Sorbonne 1435–1436. He then later served as bishop of Turku 1450–1460. From Bishop Hemmingus until Arvidus Kurck all of medieval Finland's bishops attended university.[48]

47 Heikkilä and Lehmijoki-Gardner, *Keskiajan kirkko*, 356; Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 40–41.

48 Simo Heininen, "Suomalaisten opinkäynti keskiajan Pariisissa," in *Suomen oppihistorian kehityslinjoja keskiajalta Turun akatemian alkuaikoihin*, ed. Jussi Nuorteva (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1983), 63–97; Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640* (Helsinki: Suomen

Reform in the Late Medieval Era

As mentioned earlier, the scholarship on the sixteenth-century Reformation in Finland lacks the triumphalism and certainty of progress of other Reformation historiographies. The lack of enthusiasm is understandable against the backdrop of the fifteenth century, when Finland's church experienced significant growth and reform. An absence of protracted wars and widespread crop failures allowed Finland's economy to grow robustly, giving the church record levels of income. Strong ecclesiastical leadership actively sought to develop the church in many aspects. The underdeveloped state of Finland's church relative to other parts Western Christendom afforded it room for growth. In a survey of the Swedish kingdom's medieval church, Yngve Brilioth stated that "the church appears here [in Finland], through the major tasks of its missionary activity that were precipitated by the country's conditions, to have maintained more of a youthful vitality and unspoiled energy than the dioceses of central Sweden, where the church culture had achieved a richer splendor."[49]

The fifteenth-century reforms promoted greater use of vernacular languages and liturgical standardization. A provincial synod in Söderköping in 1441 required priests throughout the Swedish kingdom to read certain prayers as well as the creed in the vernacular. This decision rested on some precedent, since already in the 1370s Pope Gregory XI decreed that priests had to know the language of their flock. In 1492, Bishop Magnus Nicolai Särkilahti renewed the 1441 order at a diocesan meeting of clergymen. In 1474, Bishop Conradus Bitz decreed that the Mass must include a sermon in the vernacular if the congregation did not consist of clergy. This decree formalized widespread practice in the Diocese of Turku over the previous decades.[50] The spread and use of Finnish is difficult to measure, because no ecclesiastical documents in Finnish before the Reformation era have survived. The use of Swedish can be traced more easily, in part because of the work of Jöns Budde (c. 1437–1495),

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kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1997); Ari-Pekka Palola, "Olaus Magni," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/224/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

49 Brilioth, *Svenska kyrkans historia*, 626; Ari-Pekka Palola, *Maunu Tavast ja Olavi Maununpoika: Turun piispat 1412–1460* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1997); Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 144–145.

50 Erkki Kansanaho, *Konfirmaatio: Liturgishistoriallinen tutkimus konfirmaatioaktista* (Helsinki: Suomalainen teologinen kirjallisuusseura, 1956), 80; Martti Parvio, "Suomalaisen saarnan kehitysvaiheet," in *Saarnaa sanaa: Sananjulistajan käsikirja*, ed. Raija Vartiainen (Helsinki: Kirjaneliö, 1985), 22; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, 47; Tarkiainen, *Sveriges Österland*, 197–198.

a monk at the Naantali Abbey. Budde translated tens of Latin works concerning monastic life, the lives of the saints, and some books of the Old Testament into Swedish. The monk's work increased access of religious texts to the clergy throughout the Swedish kingdom. Budde's productivity was part of a period of a larger growth of literary activity at the abbey.[51]

The publication of two books furthered liturgical standardization. One was *Missale Aboense*, published in 1488. Even though this book was printed in Lübeck, it is recognized as Finland's first printed book. In 1522, as the first word of Martin Luther and his reform program had reached Finland, the Diocese of Turku published *Manuale Aboense*, a manual for performing sacraments and ceremonies outside of the normal Mass, such as baptism. Both books informed the work of the sixteenth-century Lutheran reformers, such as Mikael Agricola and Paulus Juusten.[52] The Reformation in the Swedish kingdom represented in some respects a continuation of medieval reforms. As Christer Pahlmblad has written, "the continuing use of the medieval books during the sixteenth century indicates how the reforms were perceived: what was afoot was a Reformation of already existing material, not the introduction of something new."[53]

The most enduring monument to the fifteenth-century growth was the building of stone churches. Before 1400, Finland had nine stone churches either completed or under construction: Turku Cathedral and eight parish churches in the Åland Islands. By around 1520, that number had risen to ninety-four.[54] This growth in material culture did not create the corruption often associated with the growth of Christianity elsewhere in Catholic Europe. As Michael Roberts described the pre-Reformation church in the Swedish kingdom, "the church in Sweden was too young to be decadent, too remote from the center to be the sport of church politics, too lacking in rich plums to invite the attention of the greedy or the speculative, too simple for the more exotic vices. It was a church where scandals were rare enough to be remembered."[55] This characterization exaggerates the virtue of the Swedish kingdom's church, but the medieval

51 Marko Lamberg, *Jöns Budde: Birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 10–11; 15–16; 263–264; Ville Walta, "Naantalin luostari," in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. Tuomas Heikkilä (Helsinki: SKS, 2010), 287–308.

52 Martti Parvio, *Paavali Juusten ja hänen messunsa: Liturgianhistoriallinen tutkimus* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1978).

53 Christer Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska: Den reformatoriska mässan i Sverige mot den senmedeltiden bakgrunden* (Lund: Arcus, 1998), 242.

54 Markus Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 8–28; Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 38–39.

55 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 60–61.

church did not demonstrate corruption to the level that sixteenth-century reformers could use it to attack the church.

On the eve of the Reformation, the vitality of the church in Finland and the Swedish kingdom resembled that of England at the same time. Christopher Haigh has written about the pre-Reformation English church that "on balance, the church was a lively and relevant social institution, and the Reformation was not the product of a long-term decay of medieval religion….Henry VIII did not challenge a moribund church and declining religion: he attacked institutions and forms of piety which were growing and vigorous."[56] Just as in England, the church in the Swedish kingdom would undergo a Protestant Reformation despite its vitality rather than because of its weakness.

The End of the Kalmar Union and the Rise of Gustav Vasa

As in England, a temporal power struggle that included the church led to the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom. One could ask whether the Reformation would have occurred at all in Scandinavia without the overthrow of King Christian II. In 1513, Christian succeeded his father, King John, as king of Denmark. Yet again, the opposition of the Swedish political elite thwarted a monarch's rule over the entire Kalmar Union. In the Swedish kingdom, Regent Sten Sture the Younger had wielded authority since 1512. Christian stood determined to assert his rule over Sweden. The opportunity presented itself to the king when the regent decided to engage in a struggle against the church.

In 1515 Sten Sture engineered the resignation of the elderly Archbishop Jakob Ulvsson of Uppsala (r. 1469–1515). The cathedral chapter elected Gustav Trolle in his place. Trolle belonged to one of the kingdom's magnate families. His father, Erik Trolle, had briefly served as regent in 1512. If Sten Sture had expected a new archbishop more pliable to his desire to create a hereditary monarchy and place more ecclesiastical property under control of the Crown, then he miscalculated greatly. Upon the resignation of Jakob Ulvsson, Sten Sture took over a fief belonging to the castle of Almare-Stäket near Stockholm. The church had held this fief as a gift from the Crown for decades. Even though Sten Sture probably stood within his rights to take the fief back, the action provoked the outrage of Trolle and the papacy. In the spring of 1515, Trolle received papal confirmation in Rome. At the same time, Pope Leo X empowered

56 Christopher Haigh, "Introduction," in *The English Reformation Revised* ed. Christopher Haigh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 4.

the new archbishop to defend church property, with force if necessary. Trolle received papal permission to issue interdicts against opponents of the church's claims to Almare-Stäket. On his return to Scandinavia, Trolle turned then to Christian II for help. In doing so, Trolle now turned a rather ordinary dispute between the church and the Crown into a struggle between Christian and Sten Sture. Trolle's decision made erstwhile allies, such as the Swedish clergy, into his enemies. Sten Sture was able to rally Sweden's estates to his side.[57]

Meanwhile, the papacy decided to become more involved in the intra-Scandinavian conflicts. In August 1517, a representative of Pope Leo X, Giovanni Angelo Arcimboldi, later archbishop of Milan, arrived in Denmark. Arcimboldi had two primary tasks: to sell indulgences for the building of St. Peter's Basilica and to resolve the tensions between Christian II and Sten Sture. Previous papal emissaries to Scandinavia in the sixteenth century had the dual task of selling indulgences and mediating peace. According to his own account, Arcimboldi sold some 14,000 ducats worth of indulgences. He was less successful as a diplomat. He tried to maximize his influence by ingratiating himself with Christian and then with the Sture party, compromising himself as a mediator in the process.[58] Even though the papacy was concerned about Christian's own attacks on the church in Denmark and his opening to Luther´s reform ideas, Pope Leo X decided to back Christian for two reasons. First, the Sture party refused to obey Gustav Trolle, a consecrated bishop. Second, and more important, Leo wanted to maintain good relations with Christian's brother-in-law, the new Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The pope excommunicated Sten Sture, giving Christian's efforts against the regent, according to Michael Roberts, "something of the character of a crusade."[59]

Part of Christian's problem in regaining control over the Swedish kingdom was that, unlike his father, he failed to entice Russia to put pressure on Finland, now a bastion of support for the Stures. Even though Christian persuaded the Russians to sign a military alliance aimed against Sweden in 1516, the Russian ruler Vasili III was primarily interested in expanding his realm at the expense of Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate. Despite the absence of pressure from Russia on Finland, Christian decided in any case that the time had come

57 Lars Anton Anjou, *Svenska kyrkoreformationens historia* (Uppsala: C. A. Leffler, 1851), 54–63; James L. Larson, *Reforming the North: The Kingdoms and Churches of Scandinavia 1520–1545* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 65–72; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 12–14.

58 Greta Wieselgren, *Sten Sture d.y. och Gustav Trolle* (Lund: Skanska centraltryckeriet, 1949), 313–364.

59 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 15–16.

to assert his authority over the Swedish kingdom with force. For the first few years, his campaigns went poorly. His attempts to raid Finland's southern coast in 1517 were rebuffed by Sten Sture's supporters. Christian's fortunes turned in an invasion of Västergötland in January 1520, in which he defeated Sten Sture's forces. Sten died in battle, and his supporters had no ready successor. In March of the same year, Christian's opponents made peace with the king.[60]

Christian and Gustav Trolle were not prepared to practice magnanimity in victory. On 4 November 1520, Christian was formally crowned king of Sweden in Stockholm. On 7 November, as the celebrations reached their climax, Gustav Trolle initiated heresy trials against his opponents. With guilty verdicts in hand, Christian's servants then over the next two days conducted a massacre of some eighty Swedish nobles and leading personages gathered for the coronation known as the Stockholm Bloodbath. Nobody from Finland died in the massacre, but Christian's soldiers killed several members of the Sture party as they attacked Finland's castles in late November 1520.[61]

Christian's tyrannical actions ignited a revolt led by the nobleman Gustav Vasa. In 1518 Christian II's forces had taken Gustav hostage. Having escaped Denmark for Lübeck in September 1519, Gustav cultivated support among individual members of Lübeck's elite. On 31 May 1520, he returned to Sweden, landing in Kalmar. After the Stockholm massacre in November, Christian's opponents, now deprived of more senior and prestigious leadership, turned to the man who had developed notoriety as a fugitive from King Christian. Gustav's supporters had taken a large part of the kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia by August 1521, when a meeting of the estates proclaimed him regent.[62]

Gustav Vasa had tapped into Swedes' dissatisfaction with Christian's rule. External factors aided him as well. He received financial and naval help from Lübeck. The Hanse city had become concerned about Christian's plans for creating a trading company to displace the Hanse's commercial dominance in the Baltic. Meanwhile, Denmark itself had fallen into internal strife. In April 1523, Christian II fled to the Netherlands, ruled by his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles V. Christian's uncle, Duke Frederick of Holstein, assumed the Danish and Norwegian thrones. On 6 June 1523, at the age of twenty-seven,

60 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen poliittinen asema*, 100–112; Seppo Suvanto, "Kurck, Arvidus," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/27/* (accessed 1 Nov. 2016); Vahtola, "Keskiaika," 107–112.

61 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen poliittinen asema*, 413–414.

62 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 20–22.

Gustav Vasa was formally elected king of Sweden in the city of Strängnäs west of Stockholm. On 17 June, Stockholm fell to Gustav's forces.[63]

Gustav Vasa's rebellion resulted in the end of the Kalmar Union. In electing him king rather than regent, the Swedish kingdom's political elites decided to end the union. For the first time in almost two centuries, Sweden was not a part of any Scandinavian union. This newly independent kingdom faced serious challenges. The Danes never formally recognized the end of the union, creating the basis for tensions between the Scandinavian kingdoms for decades to come. The exiled Christian II refused to relinquish his claim over any of the Scandinavian kingdoms. Gustav inherited an empty royal treasury. The new king's large debts to Lübeck could turn the city against Sweden as quickly as it had turned in its favor. The new king needed significant economic resources in order to survive. Toward this end, he would follow the path of some of his immediate predecessors in seeking the wealth of the church. The king would have to soon contend with the arrival of Lutheran-minded reformers to his kingdom. Before mastering any of these problems, the king first had to extend his authority to the eastern half of his kingdom.

63 Lars-Olof, Larsson, *Gustav Vasa—Landsfader eller tyrann?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), 98; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 10–24.

CHAPTER 2

Finland and Gustav Vasa's Reformation by Crisis

No other Swedish monarch has made a greater impact on his or her kingdom than Gustav Vasa. He took a kingdom nominally under Danish rule and transformed it into an independent country with growing state institutions. He freed Sweden from the commercial hegemony of the German Hanse and integrated it into the lucrative trade of the Baltic Sea area. By taking over the church's wealth, he created space for reform of the church's beliefs and practices. Gustav's positive standing among historians has withstood ideological and intellectual shifts over the generations. For historians during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the king's work represented important steps toward creating a Swedish empire and then a modern nation. Historians working in the intellectual and political milieu of social democracy since the 1930s have admired Gustav for making the state an important actor in the kingdom's economy.[1] The scholarly consensus maintains that the statebuilding king never revealed in any detail his own theological worldview. A biographer of Gustav Vasa, Lars-Olof Larsson, has summarized the consensus as "the character of the king's personal religiosity is difficult to grasp. Less ambiguous is his conviction of his election by God for the salvation of the fatherland, like a later-day Moses and David."[2] Moreover, the king grasped his subjects' widespread religious conservatism and reluctance to embrace religious change.[3]

Gustav Vasa's first actions toward the church were fueled by the crises surrounding his protracted takeover of power. Finland during this period was a frontier of both Lutheran and royal reform. The extant evidence suggests that reformers in the Diocese of Turku during the 1520s consisted of only a handful of clergymen. The sources yield few clues as to their specific agenda for reform, and the clues do not suggest a coherent program for reform. Before the king could impose his reform of the church in Finland, he first had to secure the area from both Christian II's supporters and possible Russian adventurism. As a result, Gustav's takeover of the church's property started later in Finland than

1 Eli F. Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1935), 14–15; Lars-Olof Larsson, *Gustav Vasa—Landsfader eller tyrann?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002); Ivan Svalenius, *Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1950); Sven Wikberg, *Gustav Vasa*, vols. 1–2 (Stockholm: C. E. Fritzes, 1944–1945).

2 Larsson, *Gustav Vasa*, 331.

3 Larsson, *Gustav Vasa*, 125–127.

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elsewhere. Despite the haphazard measures taken by the king during this period, Gustav in three ways established the outlines of a coherent ecclesiastical agenda for his kingdom that would last until the end of his reign. First, he sought control over the church's considerable economic resources. Second, he wanted control over appointments to ecclesiastical offices. Third, he wanted to manage the reform of belief and practice in a way that did not endanger his rule.

Finland and Gustav's Rebellion

Gustav Vasa's rebellion again confirmed the position of the bishop of Turku as a major political actor on the Finnish Peninsula. During his brief reign as king, Christian II had managed to weaken the support of anti-union forces in Finland by placing allies into important administrative positions. A supporter of the Stures, the chief anti-union party in the Swedish kingdom, Bishop Arvidus Kurck of Turku found himself at the beginning of Gustav's rebellion isolated in a stronghold of King Christian II. In an attempt at self-preservation, Kurck first assured the king of his support. In September 1521, the bishop even offered Christian ships and soldiers.[4] In December 1521, Kurck openly joined Gustav's rebellion by asking the city of Reval (Tallinn) to allow him to raise up to three hundred soldiers in the city and surrounding areas in order to eliminate Christian's forces in Finland. The city refused to help citing a trade embargo against Sweden imposed by Christian II's brother-in-law, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Although a German Hanse city, Reval was not a part of the Holy Roman Empire and thus did not need to heed the embargo. The city's response stemmed from either the city's close ties with the Empire and or a desire to avoid involvement in the conflict.[5]

In May 1522, Christian II's navy under Søren Norby responded by raiding Turku, forcing Kurck to flee to Ostrobothnia. In July, King Christian directed Norby to take the bishop's castle of Kuusisto (Kustö) just outside of Turku and its fiefs. In September 1522, King Christian gave Norby control of other castles in Finland, such as Turku, Hämeenlinna (Tavastehus), and Raseborg

4 Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, vol. 8 (Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1935), Document 6059.

5 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6067, 6068. Charles V's embargo is in O. S. Rydberg, ed., *Sveriges traktater med främmande magter jemte andra dit hörande handlingar,* vol. 4 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1888), 467–469; Jason Lavery, *Germany's Northern Challenge: The Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian Struggle for Baltic Hegemony 1563–1576* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002), 67.

(Raasepori). At the same time, Gustav Vasa had become aware of Kurck's efforts on his behalf. He called on the bishop of Turku to assume the post of archbishop of Uppsala. With most of the western half of the kingdom under his control, the king felt powerful enough to find a formal replacement for Archbishop Gustav Trolle, who had fled to Denmark. No documents have survived that shed light on Gustav's thinking behind his choice for archbishop. Kurck obviously had demonstrated his support of the Stures and Gustav in their struggles against Danish kings. A serving bishop would likely gain approval more easily in Uppsala's cathedral chapter and in Rome. In July 1522, Arvidus Kurck sailed across the Gulf of Bothnia to assume his new post. Avoiding Norby's fleet, Kurck's ship sank in a violent storm killing all of the passengers.[6]

Finland still lay outside of Gustav's control when representatives of the estates met in Strängnäs to elect Gustav Vasa king in early June 1523. No representatives of Finland's church participated at the meeting, but three members of the nobility did—brothers Erik and Ivar Fleming, as well as Björn Classon. These three men were among Gustav's nine new appointees to the Council of the Realm.[7] After Stockholm fell on 17 June 1523, Gustav then sent troops to Finland.[8] The last of Christian's army in Finland surrendered in September 1523, but Søren Norby's flotilla remained in the Baltic to threaten both Gustav Vasa and Denmark's new king, Frederick I. From his exile in the Netherlands, Christian maintained correspondence with Norby. The exiled king envisioned retaking the Swedish kingdom through an invasion of Finland by Norby.[9] King Gustav knew of the exiled king's plans. During 1526 he sent several warnings to Bishop-elect Ericus Svenonis (Erik Svensson) of Turku, as well as to other members of the Council of the Realm based in Finland, such as Erik Fleming and his commander at Vyborg Castle, Count John of Hoya, about an impending landing by Norby. Gustav called on the bishop-elect and others to prepare Finland's defenses for war and simultaneously to send a diplomatic delegation to Russia.[10] In August 1526, Gustav and Frederick sent a joint naval force against Norby, sinking most of his flotilla and sending Norby fleeing to Russia.[11]

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6 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 55.

7 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 7.

8 J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1861), 117–119.

9 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6262, 6281, 6283, 6303, 6311, 6312.

10 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6290; J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1865), 50, 110–111, 117, 195, 255, 250, 269, 314–317.

11 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 50.

Throughout his rebellion and subsequent reign, Gustav Vasa counted Russia among his greatest threats. As it had done in the past, Russia could exploit internal conflict in the Swedish kingdom to invade Finland. In the situation at hand, this fear had some validity, since Norby was in contact with Russia about a possible alliance. Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping expressed concern to the king after Kurck's death that the vacancy in Turku might encourage Russian mischief.[12] Gustav's concerns about Russia increased after he established his control over Finland. His correspondence with Erik Fleming, John of Hoya, and the Bishop-elect Ericus Svenonis of Turku had relations with the eastern neighbor as a major focus. Ultimately, Tsar Vasili III (r. 1505–1533), did not want to engage in full-scale hostilities with the Swedish kingdom, since it would divert resources from his primary foreign policy goal--expansion southward against the Crimean Khanate.[13] In 1524, Sweden and Russia reconfirmed their peace agreement of 1510, in which a member of Cathedral Chapter of the Diocese of Turku, Archdeacon Johannes Petri, participated in the discussions in Novgorod.[14] The renewal did not stop border skirmishes, and Gustav encouraged his lieutenants in Finland to reach a full ceasefire with the Russians. Gustav was so concerned about the situation along the eastern border that in early 1527 he planned to travel to Finland. The arrival of a Russian embassy in Stockholm in the spring of 1527 led to a ceasefire agreement. Gustav canceled his trip to Finland in order to call a meeting of the estates in Västerås to resolve his fiscal and ecclesiastical crises.[15]

The Church and Gustav's Consolidation of Power

One of the reasons for Gustav's success in achieving power lay in the support of much of the church's leadership, such as Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping. Instrumental in the election of Gustav as regent in August 1521, Brask hoped to persuade Gustav to respect the church's liberties and teachings in return for

12 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 5–6; Knut B. Westman, *Reformationens genombrottsår i Sverige* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1918), 170.

13 Nicholas Riasanovsky and Mark D. Steinberg, *A History of Russia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 100.

14 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6159.

15 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6290, 6293; J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1864), 62–63, 163–164, 225–226; *KGR*, vol. 3, 132–135; J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1868), 29–31, 60–61, 127–128, 138–140, 150.

ecclesiastical resources to defeat Christian II, a deal that Gustav was, at least at the beginning of his reign, willing to accept. In August 1523 the new king made his most aggressive defense of the church by forbidding under the pain of death the propagation of Lutheran reform.[16]

Brask's advocacy for using the church's resources for a temporal political battle was not new in the history of the Swedish kingdom. In the medieval era, the bishops of Turku used their resources in wars against Russia.[17] Gustav's rebellion differed from previous cases in that neither the king nor the church ever set boundaries to the church's support. The most important document reflecting this new situation was composed by the archdeacon of Strängnäs and Gustav's chancellor, Laurentius (Lars) Andreae, often referred to in English-language scholarship as "Master Lars." In February 1524, Andreae composed a letter to the Bridgettine abbey in Vadstena responding to its complaints about Gustav's confiscation of its silver. In the letter, he argued that the church consisted of the believers. "The word church has gradually developed into a synonym for the prelates or for the collective clergy or at times for the church buildings themselves. However, in the Bible the word means nothing else than the community of believers. When we then talk about the church's money, what do we mean other than the money of the people?"[18] The church's property, therefore, must serve the needs of the believers. In the situation at hand, it was appropriate to use the church's property to protect the believers from foreign domination. A crypto-Lutheran at the time, Laurentius Andreae did not shy from applying the Lutheran concept of priesthood of believers to the Swedish church. The letter gave Gustav a principled argument for his confiscation of church property that had previously rested on expediency. The letter introduces the frequent intersection of Lutheran reform and the king's statebuilding efforts over the subsequent decades.[19]

The extant sources suggest that nobody in the Swedish kingdom's church made an equally strong and concentrated argument against aiding the new ruler. Gustav's ecclesiastical supporters, regardless of theological orientation, seemed to believe that they could maintain the church's institutional independence and give the king the resources that he needed. In March 1524,

16 *KGR*, vol. 1, 116.

17 See pp. 33–34.

18 Kungl. samfundet för utgifvande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, ed., *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, vol. 17 (Stockholm: Johan Hörberg, 1832), 205–212.

19 Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, *Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 31–32.

shortly after Laurentius penned his letter, Archbishop-elect Johannes Magnus of Uppsala as well as Bishops-elect Magnus Sommar of Strängnäs and Ericus Svenonis of Turku agreed to the king's demand that they scour their dioceses for any more remaining wealth for the king's operation to remove Søren Norby from Gotland. They then sent their own joint appeal to the abbess of Vadstena to give the king the abbey's silver. The bishops-elect assured the abbess that the king would compensate the abbey in a few years.[20] None of these three clerics can be considered Lutheran. Johannes Magnus ultimately left Sweden over his concerns about the king's support of Lutheran reform. Svenonis refused to perform most of his sacred duties without formal papal confirmation of his position. Magnus Sommar shared Brask's view that the church should give the king resources if the king respected the church's teaching and autonomy. They all saw no conflict between their approval of letting the king have ecclesiastical property and their opposition to doctrinal change. They did not seem to consider that with the king gaining the church's wealth, land, and income streams, the church risked losing its ability to effectively oppose any and all royal initiatives in respect to the church.

Gustav's confiscations first focused on the church's more liquid assets. In February 1522, Gustav ordered the people in the Diocese of Västerås to pay delinquent tithes for the repair of Västerås cathedral damaged in the conflict. Within the month, Gustav had assumed the archiepiscopal rents in Uppsala in the place of the deposed Archbishop Gustav Trolle. He was receiving the tithes from Jämtland, a remote part of the archdiocese.[21] In 1522 Gustav started receiving contributions of silver from both cloisters and churches.[22] In June 1523, the Council of the Realm ordered churches and cloisters to relinquish to the king "monstrances, chalices, and other available valuables along with round coin."[23]

Gustav sought to use the church's real estate as well. In a meeting of the Council of the Realm in October 1524, Gustav asked for consent to quarter troops in the Swedish kingdom's cloisters. The council refused, but then reversed its decision in January 1525. Gustav's decision to occupy cloisters

20 Gottfried Buschbell, ed., *Briefe von Johannes und Olaus Magnus: Den letzten katholischen Erzbischöfen von Uppsala*, Historiska Handlingar, vol. 28 (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1932) 1–2; *HSH*, vol. 17, 199–202, 217–218.

21 James L. Larson, *Reforming the North: The Kingdoms and Churches of Scandinavia 1520–1545* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 228.

22 Olle Källström, *Medeltida kyrksilver från Sverige och Finland förlorat genom Gustav Vasas konfiskationer* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelse, 1939), 24–25.

23 *KGR*, vol. 1, 100–101.

anyway in the interim might have changed the council's mind. Moreover, Bishop Brask, an opponent of quartering of troops in cloisters, was absent at the January meeting. Martin Berntson, a historian of Sweden's monasteries during Gustav's reign, explains that Gustav took this measure as an expedient to ensure a military presence over all parts of the kingdom. The monasteries had suitable buildings for basing troops, and Gustav already had been using church buildings since the beginning of his revolt.[24] In the same January meeting, the council allowed Gustav to confiscate the part of the tithe that went to individual parishes, minus the funds needed for purchasing the elements of the Eucharist. This represented one-third of the tithe.[25]

After defeating Christian II and Norby, the king's need for money turned to confronting an empty royal treasury and repayment of debts to his chief patron—the Hanse city of Lübeck. The process of taking the church's wealth continued at a meeting of the kingdom's leading personages, or *herredag*, in Vadstena in January 1526. At this meeting, Gustav received permission for an extension of his exaction of the clergy's income. Unlike in the previous year, in which clergy gave its part of the tithe except for money needed for the Eucharistic elements, the part to be handed over was now fixed at two-thirds.[26] This solution did not produce the desired income, so Gustav demanded from a *herredag* in Stockholm in August the confiscation of two-thirds of all clerical income for one year. The bishops, concerned about their financial liability under such a proposal, countered that the church would give the king a lump sum of 15,000 Swedish marks. Each diocese would contribute to this sum according to its size and wealth. Gustav agreed to this counterproposal.[27]

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24 Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Alin, eds., *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 22–29; Martin Berntson, *Kloster och reformationen: Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596* (Skellefteå: Norma, 2003), 339–340; Hans Forssell, *Sveriges inre historia från Gustaf I med särskildt afseende på förvaltning och ekonomi*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1869), 139; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 24; Westman, *Reformation*, 215.

25 Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933), 100; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 24.

26 *SRA*, vol. 1, 4–5, 33–34, 39–42; Westman, *Reformation*, 259.

27 Documents from both *herredagar SRA*, vol. 1, 39–52; *KGR*, vol. 3, 4–5; 33–34; Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, 128–129; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 67; Westman, *Reformation*, 259; Hugo Yrwing, *Gustav Vasa, kroningsfragan och Västerås riksdag 1527* (Lund: Gleerup, 1956), 140–141.

Gustav's Confiscations in Finland

The decisions of 1526 brought Finland into the circle of Gustav's confiscations for the entire Swedish kingdom. Shortly after the Stockholm meeting, Gustav informed Finnish members of the Council of the Realm of the decision for contributions from each diocese. The Diocese of Turku was assessed three thousand Swedish marks.[28] Of the seven dioceses in the kingdom, only Uppsala would pay more (four thousand marks). Linköping and Skara would pay the same amount as Turku. Even though there are different lists with slightly conflicting assessments, Turku in every case follows the Archdiocese of Uppsala in terms of its obligations.[29] The total of 15,000 marks represented around ten percent of Sweden's total debt to the Hanse city.[30] For collecting Turku's share, Gustav entrusted Archdeacon Jasparus Johannis of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku. Like in the case of other early reformers in Finland, few sources illuminate the career and beliefs of Jasparus. He studied in Leipzig during the 1510s, where it is believed that he was exposed to the ideas of Martin Luther in nearby Wittenberg. During the rebellion against Christian II, Jasparus must have become a close ally of Gustav Vasa, since Gustav gave him the income of a hospital in Turku as a fief already in the fall of 1523. The king's action was yet another royal takeover of the church's property: the disposition of this income stream had belonged to the chapter, not the king.[31] Jasparus's collection of the three thousand marks apparently encountered no significant opposition. The late sixteenth-century chronicler Johannes Messenius wrote that "Finland's priests no longer dared to oppose, but rather they did what the king commanded. They gave out of their coffers three thousand marks. The Lübeckers received their payment without

28 In the Baltic Sea area, several currencies bore the name of mark. For the purposes of this study, mark means Swedish mark unless otherwise indicated.

29 *KGR*, vol. 3, 248–249; *SRA*, vol. 1, 50–52.

30 The total amount of Sweden's debt to Lübeck at any one time is difficult to calculate because of the several sources of debt and the exchange rate of the Swedish versus the Lübeck mark. At its highest, the debt according to both Ingrid Hammarström and Hans Forssell, the main researchers of this topic, reached 120,817 Lübeck marks or about 181,000 Swedish marks. Forssell, *Sveriges inre historia*, 137; Ingrid Hammarström, *Finansförvaltning och varuhandel: Studier i de yngre sturarnas och Gustav Vasas statshushållning* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 404.

31 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6331, 6330, 6334, *KGR*, vol. 3, 299; Jussi Nuorteva, "Jasparus Johannis (mainitaan 1514–1527)," in Suomen kansallisbiografia, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/281/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

delay."[32] Messenius is a problematic source in that he was an ardent Catholic and a vocal critic of the Reformation. He likely though would have made light of opposition if he had evidence of it. No other source suggests any opposition to Gustav's imposition on the diocese.

In the years before 1526, occupation by Christian's forces and distractions elsewhere in the kingdom led the king to employ different measures to Finland, but measures that nonetheless paralleled many of those that he applied elsewhere in the kingdom. The commander of Gustav's forces in Finland, Erik Fleming, executed the first major confiscation of church property. By early September 1523, Fleming had taken over the bishop's dilapidated castle of Kuusisto. Many of Gustav's first confiscations of ecclesiastical property in Finland in 1523 consisted of reassigning the church's property and positions to clerical and noble allies.[33] As Gustav prepared to take Finland from Christian II in the summer of 1523, he instructed the Cathedral Chapter of Turku to give his secretary Laurentius Andreae a payment from the parish of Mynämäki (Virmo) that the chapter was scheduled to receive. Mynämäki was one of a handful of parishes in Finland in which the king had the right of patronage to name the officials of the parish.[34] After he took Kuusisto Castle in September 1523, Erik Fleming asked the cathedral chapter to appoint one Hans Olai pastor of Eurajoki (Euraåminne). Eurajoki was not a royal parish. No records exist to explain how the chapter acted on Fleming's request.[35] By the end of 1523, Gustav had taken over several prebends belonging to the bishop and cathedral chapter.[36] Already in spring 1524, earlier than elsewhere, Gustav commanded Finland's monastic houses to accept the quartering of soldiers.[37]

The targeted nature of the confiscations suggests that the king was receiving current and detailed information about the availability of church wealth. In 1525 Gustav demanded from the Cathedral Canon Anders Jacobi a yearly

32 Johannes Messenius, *Suomen riimikronikka*, ed. Harry Lönnroth and Martti Linna (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 104.

33 Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 12–13.

34 *FMU*, vol 8, 6119; *KGR*, I, 114; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 12–13.

35 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6127.

36 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 13; Anna-Maria Vilkuna, "Kruunun maatalous: Kuninkkaankartanot," in *Suomen maatalouden historia*, vol. 1, *Perinteisen maatalouden aika esihistoriasta 1870-luvulle*, ed. Viljo Rasila, Eino Jutikkala, and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), 248.

37 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 24

tax of one and one-half marks on the ecclesiastical estate of Raunistula. In a separate letter on the same day to his bailiff Bengt Västgöte, the king thanked him for collecting salt, herring, skins, silver, as well as an unpaid tithe for him. He wanted to insure from Västgöte that he received the part of a priest's will that was bequeathed to the church as well as his horse and any silver.[38] By 1525 Gustav had taken property left in the will of Arvidus Kurck.[39] The king was assuming the role of the church as the chief benefactor of priests' wills. When Dean Jacobus Johannis of Turku Cathedral died in 1526, he left in his will one hundred marks, one noble, and two Hungarian gulden to the king. Apparently in the will the king designated to receive it was Christian II, not Gustav Vasa. Most likely, Jakob made this designation before Gustav's rebellion. In any case, in August 1526 the king demanded from the bishop-elect and the cathedral chapter the rest of Jakob's estate, after "heirs, friends, and the poor people" received their share bequeathed to them.[40]

In 1526 the cathedral chapter selected a new cathedral dean to replace the deceased Jacobus Johannis. In keeping with tradition, the chapter promoted a deacon in the chapter, one Johannes Petri. After making its choice, the chapter then turned to the king for his approval. Gustav responded with dismay that the chapter had not consulted him before making its selection. He agreed to approve the decision as long as he would receive two hundred marks a year from the new dean or some other source of diocesan income. This incident perhaps more than any other illustrates how Gustav's primary interest in the church lay in its economic potential for the Crown. Everything the church held—its land, tithes, and clerical positions–could be monetized for the Crown.[41]

Gustav and the Swedish Kingdom's Bishops

When Gustav became king, conditions were very favorable for him to assume widespread control of the church's administration. Of the kingdom's seven episcopal sees, five were vacant in 1523. The bishops of Skara and Strängnäs perished in the Stockholm Bloodbath. The archbishop of Uppsala, Gustav Trolle, fled the country in the face of Gustav's revolt. The bishops of Västerås and Turku died during Gustav's revolt. As of 1523, the only sitting bishops

38 *KGR*, vol. 2, 130–131.

39 Aarre Läntinen, *Turun keskiaikainen piispanpöytä* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1978), 220.

40 *KGR*, vol. 3, 261; Westman, *Reformation*, 350–351.

41 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6315; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 30–32.

were Hans Brask of Linköping and Ingemarus Petri of Växjö, both supporters of the new king.[42]

At the outset, Gustav sought to enhance his power over ecclesiastical appointments by building on historical precedents. Kings during the medieval period had some influence over the selection of bishops, but Gustav wanted to turn this influence into a more formal and broader appointment power.[43] His goal of increasing his authority while avoiding offense to his subjects' religious conservatism is evidenced by his quest to have papal approval for his appointments. The papacy still recognized Gustav Trolle as archbishop of Uppsala, thus threatening the legitimacy of any archbishop appointed by Gustav among the overwhelming majority of his subjects. In order to make his own rule into a dynasty, Gustav needed to have a marriage blessed by ecclesiastical leaders recognized as legitimate. Agreement with Rome would contribute to the critical mass of international diplomatic recognition that Gustav needed to survive the transition from rebel leader to established monarch.

In connection with Gustav's election as king, the Council of the Realm in June 1523 wrote to Pope Adrian VI and made three proposals about the future relationship between the Swedish church and the Holy See. First, the council wanted the pope to consecrate a replacement for Gustav Trolle. Second, it wanted the pope to consecrate Swedish bishops to the other open episcopal sees, especially those already chosen by a cathedral chapter. Third, the council wanted papal approval of "necessary reforms" of the church. The council did not elaborate specific reforms, but one can safely assume that they centered on the church's wealth and powers of appointment.[44]

In the fall of 1523, Gustav wrote several letters to the pope repeating the requests of the Council of the Realm. Pointing to his kingdom's poor economic state, Gustav additionally requested suspension of the payment of the *servitium commune*, a fee the new bishops paid to the papacy corresponding to one-third of their first-year income. In return, Gustav offered to sponsor a mission to convert the Sámi people of Lapland, to make an effort to bring Russia into

42 Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, 23; Simo Heininen, "Uskonto ja politiikka Ruotsin reformaation alkuvaiheessa," in *Kirkko ja politiikka: Juhlakirja professori Eino Murtorinteen täyttäessä 60 vuotta 25.11.1990*, ed. Hannu Mustakallio (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1990), 76–77.

43 See pp. 33–34; Martti Parvio, "The Post-Reformation Development of the Episcopacy in Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic States," in *Episcopacy in the Lutheran Church? Studies in the Development and Definition of the Office of Church Leadership*, ed. Ivar and Victor R. Gold Asheim (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 125.

44 *KGR*, vol. 1, 88–89.

the Roman Catholic fold, and to contribute to wars against the Turks.[45] Pope Adrian refused any compromises with the Swedes. He insisted on Trolle's return to Uppsala as a matter of papal authority.[46] Already in the spring of 1523, Adrian insisted on upholding his prerogatives by naming a papal legate in Copenhagen, Johannes Franciscus de Potentia, to the post of bishop of Skara, an appointment that Gustav angrily rejected. Even though the pope refused to concede anything to the rebel ruler, he did send a Swedish cleric resident in Rome, Johannes Magnus, on a mission to his native land to investigate conditions there. Gustav for his part saw in the arrival of Johannes an opportunity to reconcile with Rome by naming him archbishop of Uppsala. Pope Adrian died in September 1523. His successor, Clement VII, elected pope in November 1523, proved no less willing to compromise. He refused to confirm Gustav's choice for archbishop and his other *electi* except one—Peder Månsson (Petrus Magni) of Västerås—whom Clement consecrated in Rome. This safeguarded the apostolic succession in the Swedish kingdom. The king responded by redeeming his threat that if the pope would not accept his appointments, he would then insure that these bishops would be formally confirmed in office by appealing directly to God.[47]

Gustav Vasa and the Episcopal See of Turku

In October 1523, the Cathedral Chapter of Turku elected Ericus Svenonis, the king's nominee, as bishop to replace Arvidus Kurck. Svenonis had previously been dean of the Linköping diocese, where he worked closely with Bishop Hans Brask.[48] At the time of his election, he served as Gustav Vasa's chancellor. In selecting Svenonis, Gustav sent a strong signal that he wanted diocesan leadership loyal to royal reform and the king's wider statebuilding agenda. The selection of a close ally suggests the significance of the Turku diocese to Gustav. The first head of the diocese not born in Finland since the fourteenth century, Svenonis did have some history with the diocese. In 1513 the pope named him as a canon to the chapter. In 1517, the pope named him cathedral dean.

45 *KGR*, vol. 1, 129, 132, 132–134, 139–140, 143–146; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 64.

46 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 64.

47 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6138; Edward Grönblad, ed., *Nya källor till Finlands medeltidshistoria* (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Boktryckeri, 1857), 740–746; *KGR*, vol. 1, 226–227; Larson, *Reforming the North*, 232; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 64–65.

48 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6141. In a letter dated Linköping 29 November 1523, Brask expresses to Svenonis his joy of being selected bishop.

In both cases opposition from within the chapter forced Svenonis to surrender both posts, probably because he was considered as an outsider.[49]

The sources from Svenonis's tenure are sparse. Svenonis was never formally consecrated as bishop. He remained a bishop *electus*, or bishop-elect, selected and elected but not formally consecrated. Svenonis willingly helped the king assume church property and establish royal power in Finland. No evidence suggests that he in any way was a Lutheran or any other kind of dissenter from the Catholic Church. This might explain why he did not seek consecration without formal papal approval. Gustav had sought papal approval for his appointment but wanted the papacy to waive the normal payments, or annates, to the papacy in connection with such approval beforehand. In a letter to Svenonis in March 1525, Hans Brask stated his hope that he would hear something soon from Rome concerning the appointment. Brask supposed that the delay stemmed from the "storm of heresies" confronting the church. The bishop expressed his confidence that Svenonis would stand strong should those heresies reach his diocese.[50]

This situation left Finland with a church leader who was willing to serve the king's interests but at the same time unwilling, and from the standpoint of Rome, unable, to perform confirmations or ordinations. In October 1526, Gustav asked Bishop Vincent Kampe of Gardar in Greenland to aid Erik in performing those ecclesiastical duties that Erik either felt unqualified and or unwilling to do. Vincent was available to help since, as titular bishop of Greenland, his see did not have any parishes. Vincent had prior to 1526 helped Sweden's other *electi* with tasks they felt unqualified or unable to perform.[51] One specific task that Gustav gave to Vincent was the leadership of Finland's Franciscan monasteries in Kökar, Turku, and Rauma. The king called on the brothers at these monasteries to obey Vincent, himself a Franciscan, or face the king's "displeasure and anger."[52] The king's action likely aimed to weaken the ties of obedience to the order's provincial leader in Denmark.[53] It is unknown how

49 Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia,* vol. 1, *Keskiaika ja uskonpuhdistuksen aika* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 278; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 21–22.

50 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6203, Hedda Gunneng, ed., *Biskop Hans Brasks registratur: Textutgåva med inledning* (Uppsala: Svenska fornskriftsällskapet, 2003), 367–368; Ari-Pekka Palola, "Ericus Svenonis," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

51 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6329; Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 55.

52 *KGR*, vol. 3, 297.

53 K. G. Leinberg, *De finska klostrens historia* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1890), 136.

long Vincent stayed in Finland. In any case, as Gustav was welcoming Bishop Vincent to Finland he was preparing for the departure of Svenonis.[54] In June 1527 Svenonis resigned his post in Turku and returned to his previous office in Linköping. He furthermore served the king in various diplomatic missions until his death in 1541.[55]

Ultimately, Svenonis had as bishop-elect very little room to maneuver. Gustav Vasa charged him to reduce the church's economic resources to the advantage of the king. As an *electus,* he chose to defer to Vincent in the performance of the most sacred tasks of the office. A supporter of traditional Catholic doctrine, he found himself unable to stop the development of a Lutheran reform movement in his diocese. His job as bishop-elect was not even very lucrative: his position in Linköping provided more income than his episcopal post in Turku.[56]

The Rise of Lutheran Reform

While King Gustav aggressively assumed parts of the church's wealth and administration, he more carefully approached the growing splits in the church over reform. The arrival into Sweden of reform ideas, primarily Lutheran in origin, occurred concurrent with Gustav's revolt. It was a parallel event that would have happened regardless of a violent change of monarch in the early 1520s. The ultimate breakthrough of Lutheran reform rested on the king's opportunistic attitude toward Lutheranism plus his takeover of the church's property and administration. Gustav gave reformers an opportunity to reform the church that they otherwise would not have had. There was little of the ecclesiastical corruption or social tensions by which reform gained traction elsewhere.

Unlike King Henry VIII of England, to whom Gustav is often compared, the Swedish king had no training or interest in theology as an abstract or academic matter. For him, the church's theology mattered primarily to the extent that it related to his control of the church and its resources.

54 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6333.

55 *FMU*, vol 8, 6324; Simo Heininen, *Turun piispat: Pyhästä Henrikistä Mikko Juvaan* (Helsinki; Edita, 2008), 45–47.

56 Ari-Pekka Palola, "Ericus Svenonis;" Gottfried Carlsson, "Erik Svensson," in *Sveriges biografiskt lexikon*, http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=15408 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

At the outset, Gustav had little incentive to embrace Lutheran reform for two reasons. First, as evidenced by his correspondence with Rome, Gustav wanted to achieve an understanding with the Holy See. Concord with Rome promised to strengthen his legitimacy as a ruler both inside and outside Sweden. Second, much of the king's early support from the Swedish church came from opponents of Lutheranism ranging from clerics, such as Hans Brask, to the peasantry. Those incentives weakened as the problems with Rome remained unresolved and supporters of Lutheran reform began to enter the king's inner circle. By July 1524, Gustav was beginning to refuse Brask's requests to act against Lutheran heresy. The king argued that impartial experts must first judge Luther's writings. The king did not hurry to assemble such a panel.[57] By the spring of 1525, Brask was complaining to the king that he had not kept his promises concerning his protection of the church's liberties and properties.[58] In November 1526, Gustav forbade Brask from writing, translating, and disseminating attacks on Luther. The king called on Brask to provide "some learned men" who could explain to him how Luther's teaching went against scripture.[59]

At the same time, the king's stand toward Lutheranism was going beyond tolerance to active support. In 1524 Gustav appointed one Olaus Petri as town clerk of Stockholm. This position gave Petri the opportunity to preach from one of the most influential pulpits in Sweden—that of the Great Church of Stockholm. In 1518, Petri was the first student of Luther at Wittenberg to return to Sweden. He worked as the dean of the Strängnäs chapter, where he allied himself with Laurentius Andreae. It is widely believed that Petri converted Andreae to Lutheran reform. In February 1525, Olaus Petri shocked his congregation and the country by taking a wife, an action that Luther followed only some months later.[60]

While Petri demonstrated the courage of his convictions, he and other like-minded clergymen understood that only slow, evolutionary change of the Swedish kingdom's church would insure the ultimate success of reform. On the one hand, a sympathetic king refused to let open doctrinal conflict in the church weaken his drive to gain control of it. On the other hand, large segments of the clergy and laity opposed Lutheran reform.

57 *KGR*, vol. 1, 231–232; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 69.

58 *KGR*, vol. 2, 272–275.

59 *KGR*, vol. 3, 313–314.

60 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 69.

The Arrival of Lutheran Reform in Finland

Lutheran influences came to the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia primarily from Germany. When it comes to the kingdom's eastern half, historians agree that Finland was subjected to Lutheranism from several directions. They have disagreed over which source is the most important. One conduit for reform ideas crossed the Gulf of Bothnia. It is impossible to ascertain how well the activities of such early reformers as Laurentius Andreae and Olaus Petri were known in Finland in the early and mid-1520s. By 1525, however, Finland's church became involved in the kingdom's wider efforts to reform the church's teachings and practices. In June 1525, Archbishop-elect Johannes Magnus initiated a project to translate the New Testament into Swedish. Each diocese and four monastic orders in the kingdom were given a part of the New Testament to translate. The Diocese of Turku was assigned Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and Timothy. To the extent that the dioceses and orders participated, their work contributed to the publication of a Swedish New Testament in 1526.[61]

The second conduit of reform emanated directly from Germany. Finland's port cities had constant interchange with German merchants, many of whom spread Lutheran ideas across Scandinavia. For decades the Diocese of Turku had sent its most gifted students to Germany for education. One of these students returned to Finland during this period—Petrus Särkilahti. Son of the mayor of Turku, Särkilahti started his university studies in 1516 in Rostock. In the next year he transferred to Louvain, where he studied under Erasmus of Rotterdam. Paulus Juusten in his chronicle of Finland's bishops designates Särkilahti as the first of Finland's reformers educated in Wittenberg. No contemporaneous evidence has been found to prove that Särkilahti studied at Wittenberg. No primary sources on his life between his arrival in Louvain in 1517 and 1524 have ever been found. Särkilahti returned to Finland in 1522 or 1523 accompanied by one Margaret Corneliusdotter. Särkilahti's testament of 1524 calls her his "housekeeper (*forsije*)" but according to statement of a later reformer, Jakob Teit, in 1566, Särkilahti was married to Margaret. If true, Särkilahti's marriage is the earliest known case of a priest in the Swedish kingdom giving up his oath of celibacy and marrying. Like many previous returnees from study in central Europe, Särkilahti became rector of the Cathedral School in Turku. He rose to the position of dean of the cathedral chapter before his

61 *FMU*, vol 8, 6235; Gunneng, 414–416; Artur Andell, "Primäröversättarna av Nya testamentet på svenska 1526," *Scandia* 74 (2008): 16–42; Carl Alfred Cornelius, *Svenska kyrkans historia efter reformationen*, vol. 1 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1886), 14–15.

death in 1529. There few sources exist concerning Särkilahti. Most of what is known about him comes from Juusten's chronicle. The sources do not give any information about his specific impact on the church and in which respects he wanted to reform the church. With the exception of Jasparus Johannis, nobody in the diocese shared Särkilahti's educational experiences in central Europe.[62]

A third conduit reached Finland from Livonia or the eastern Baltic.[63] Many of the cities of the eastern Baltic had adopted Lutheran reform in the first half of the 1520s. Finland's trade and contracts were just as vigorous across the Gulf of Finland as they were across the Gulf of Bothnia. The best-known case of a reformer from the eastern Baltic actually affected the Swedish kingdom west of the Gulf of Bothnia. In 1526, the radical reforming preacher Melchior Hoffman left Reval for Stockholm, where he stirred up believers for a few months before Gustav Vasa expelled him from the country.[64] There is one known case of a reformer from the eastern Baltic coming to Finland, and more specifically, to its second city—Vyborg. Sources concerning the arrival of Lutheran reform in Vyborg are even more fragmentary than those concerning Turku. The sources do provide two possible and not mutually exclusive accounts by which Lutheran reform came to Finland's second city. A document from the late seventeenth century that might have rested on subsequently destroyed primary documents states that Gustav Vasa sent one Petrus Soroi to reform the church in Vyborg as early as 1524. The problem with this information is that it is second-hand. The first mention of Soroi in the primary sources occurs in 1536.[65]

The other and better-substantiated account of the spread of Lutheran reform to Vyborg is connected to Gustav Vasa's commander in eastern Finland,

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62 *FMU*, vol 8, 6164; Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*; Eric Anthoni, "Peder Särkilax och hans bild i den historiska framställningen," *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 38 (1953): 28–33; Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 64–65; Jussi Nuorteva, "Petrus Särkilahti," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/290/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016); Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murrokseessa*, 20–21; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1, 278–279.

63 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 82–83; Olav Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1946), 152–153.

64 Klaus Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman: Social Unrest and Apocalyptic Visions in the Age of the Reformation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 89–94.

65 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 11 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1888), 171; Kimmo Katajala, "Viipurin koulusta piispan penkille," in *Viipurin läänin historia*, vol. 3, *Suomenlahdelta Laatokalle*, ed. Kimmo Katajala, Antti Kujala, and Anssi Mäkinen (Lappeenranta: Karjalan kirjapaino, 2010), 38; Albin Simolin, *Wiborgs stifts historia* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1909), 15.

Count John of Hoya. In 1525 this German count married Gustav's sister Margaret. Already engaged to Margaret in 1524, John was appointed by Gustav to the Council of the Realm in contravention of the ban against foreigners on the council. In 1524 Gustav gave John the castle province of Stegeberg as a fief, but then in the next year Gustav exchanged that fief for the provinces of Vyborg and Savonlinna (Nyslott) in eastern Finland. Georg Haggrén summarizes Gustav's possible motivations by stating that "one does not know if the king wanted to make his brother-in-law the lord over an important province, a counterweight against Finland's domestic nobility, or if he just wanted to move him as far away as possible."[66] Gustav's relationship with John was not personally close, but the king did not balk at using the count's military, administrative, and diplomatic skills. John established himself in Vyborg as a headstrong local ruler. He set up a court in Vyborg that served as a channel for Renaissance cultural influences. He aided in the spread of Lutheran reform as well. John's brother, Jobst II, the ruling count of Hoya, had embraced Lutheranism as early as 1523. Jobst's brothers embraced Lutheran reform and it is believed that John was an adherent of Lutheranism before he arrived in Sweden.[67]

In 1532 John wrote a letter of recommendation for Johan Block, a German preacher active in Vyborg. In the letter John stated that Block had served him for several years, teaching what John called "the holy Gospel and godly truth."[68] Born in Pomerania around 1480, Block came to Vyborg around 1528 from Tartu in Livonia, where he had served as a pastor for over ten years. He arrived in Vyborg with a wife and a library of about 180 books. The contents of the library suggest an owner who had embraced Lutheran reform.[69] John of Hoya's influence in Finland's religion and politics ended in 1534, when, after years of acrimony with Gustav Vasa, he fled Vyborg and the Swedish kingdom before Gustav Vasa's troops could apprehend him.[70]

66 Georg Haggrén, "Johan (K 1535) Viipurin, Savonlinnan ja Kokemäen läänien käskynhaltija, valtaneuvos, Hoyan ja Bruchhausenin kreivi," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/3931/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

67 Bernd Ulrich Hucker, *Die Grafen von Hoya: Ihre Geschichte in Lebensbildern* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1993), 84–85.

68 RA Strödda historiska handlingar 1a, unfol., letter dated St. Bartholomew's Day [24 August] 1532.

69 RA Strödda historiska handlingar 1a, unfol., letter dated St. Bartholomew's Day [24 August] 1532; Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 36–39.

70 Haggrén, "Johan," 435.

The *Riksdag* of Västerås

In June 1527, the king called a meeting of the estates, or *riksdag*, in the city of Västerås in central Sweden. Contrary to widespread popular historical understanding, King Gustav did not seek from the estates a mandate for initiating a royal reform of the church, but rather consent for continuing ecclesiastical policies that he had pursued since 1521. The Västerås meeting was not the beginning of the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom, but rather a milestone on a journey that had already started. The Västerås meeting is recognized as the first *riksdag* that debated major questions of policy. Previous meetings of the estates only dealt with electing or deposing a king. Henceforth kings would turn to the *riksdag* for approval of important royal initiatives. This new use of the *riksdag* would not weaken royal power. To the contrary, as the events in Västerås indicate, it could give the king greater legitimacy and authority in implementing his policies. The Västerås *riksdag* was one of several meetings that occurred within a short timespan that gave at least some legal sanction to Lutheran reform in Europe, such as the Diet of Speyer in the Holy Roman Empire in 1526 and the meeting of the Danish estates in Odense in August 1527.[71]

While Gustav called representatives from all estates and all regions of the Swedish kingdom, participation in the meeting was far from representative. Four members of the Council of the Realm based in Finland participated: Bishop-elect Erik Svenonis, John of Hoya, Åke Klasson Tott, and Ivar Fleming. No representatives of Finland's cities or peasantry attended the meeting. The only known representative of the clergy was Erik Svenonis. Gustav's concern about low participation from Finland led him first to consider holding the meeting in Söderköping in order to better facilitate participation by representatives from Finland.[72]

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71 Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, 43; Herman Schück, "Riksdagens framväxt i tiden intill 1611," in *Riksdag genom tiderna*, ed. Herman Schück et al. (Stockholm: Sveriges Riksdag, 1985), 7–58.

72 Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia*, vol. 3:1, 148; E. I Kouri, "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland c. 1520–1560," in *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform*, ed. Ole Peter Grell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 42–69; Pentti Renvall, *Suomen kansanedustuslaitoksen historia*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Eduskunnan historiakomitea, 1962), 62; Pentti Renvall, *Finsk represenation i Sveriges riksdag* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1967), 58; Lars Sjödin, "Västerås möte 1527," *Historisk tidskrift* (1927–1928): 127; Lauritz Weibull, "Västerås riksdag 1527," *Scandia* 10 (1937): 76–128.

Gustav convened the meeting in Västerås in the midst of two crises. The first one stemmed from the Crown's ongoing financial problems. The second crisis consisted of the growing split between reformers and traditionalists in the church. Despite the king's growing acceptance of it, Lutheran reform was far from making a decisive breakthrough among the king's subjects. This resistance manifested itself in the uprising in the Dalarna region starting in early 1527. Dalarna had been the stage of a rebellion by the king's enemies already in 1524–1525. The rebels consisted of supporters from the Sture party who had felt increasingly sidelined by Gustav as he strengthened his power. Peasants of the region were upset at the king's new impositions on them and the confiscations of church property. In Dalarna opponents of the king spread the false rumor of Gustav's intention to bring back the hated Gustav Trolle as archbishop of Uppsala. In this renewed rebellion in 1527, led by a mysterious man named the *Daljunker*, the rebels renewed their old accusations and grievances, but added the specific accusation that the king was a Lutheran.[73]

Gustav opened the Västerås meeting with a very grim assessment of the Swedish kingdom's situation. The Crown still owed heavy debts to Lübeck. He estimated that the church held more wealth than the Crown and nobility combined. Although Gustav was prone to exaggeration, nobody has doubted the king's estimate. Gustav demanded from the estates further concessions of the church's wealth, property, and revenue streams. If the estates did not accept these demands, he hinted at two other courses of action. One consisted of the raising of taxes and contributions on the peasantry, nobility, and cities. The other one was abdication. Both alternatives were very realistic and very unpalatable to many at the meeting.[74]

The response of the nobility and the Council of the Realm to the king's proposition formed the basis of the Västerås Recess approved by the estates. The recess consisted of three resolutions that the nobility and council hoped would keep Gustav on the throne. First, the estates pledged their support against all rebels in the kingdom. Second, the estates approved a drastic reduction of the church's and more specifically bishops' economic and political power. Bishops were to relinquish their castles to the king and keep armed men only to the extent that the king permitted. With the reduced costs of maintaining castles and armed men the bishops could give more of their income to the king. If the bishops did not give their "superfluous" income to the king, the king could take it. The recess called on the king to place monasteries and nunneries with financial problems under the care of a "good knight," who would act as a custodian

73 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 54–56.

74 *SRA*, vol. 1, 65–75.

of finances and give any extra income to the king. This plan aimed to phase out monasteries.[75]

The third decision addressed the religious conflict. During the meeting there was a debate between Olaus Petri representing the reformers and Peter Galle, a member of the Cathedral Chapter of Uppsala and the most visible and effective spokesman for the old church. The nobles and the council acquitted Petri on all charges of heresy made against him by Galle. At the same time, they called for God's Word "to be purely preached everywhere in the kingdom." This was not an open endorsement but rather a toleration of Lutheran reform to the extent that it advanced the king's agenda.[76]

In giving the king these new sources of wealth, the nobility ensured that it received a commission for its services. The Västerås Recess allowed nobles who or whose ancestors had sold or mortgaged land to the church since 1454 to buy the land back. Nobles who or whose ancestors had donated land to the church could reclaim it without compensation. Taxable land given to the church was to "go back [to the donor] in whatever length it had been away." It is ambiguous if this meant that non-noble donors could regain donated land, but many non-nobles interpreted it that way. If a donor family had died out, the king could reclaim the property on its behalf.[77] These concessions to the nobility were significant in parts of the realm, such as Finland. The law barred nobles from holding land subject to taxation. In the case of Finland, this meant that over ninety percent of the land was off-limits to the nobility.[78] Gustav had several reasons to choose 1454 as the baseline year for the reclamation of church property. In that year, King Karl Knutsson implemented the last significant *reduktion* of the church's property by the Crown, so property subject to reclamation represented the growth in the church's wealth over the previous decades. The reference to the *reduktion* of 1454 was a strong reminder to the Swedish kingdom's elites that Swedish rulers from Queen Margaret to Sten Sture the younger had in the past taken property from the church when they saw fit.[79]

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75 *SRA*, vol. 1, 82–85; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 78.

76 *SRA*, vol. 1, 85–86.

77 *SRA*, vol. 1, 82–87; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 77–78.

78 Kauko Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio Varsinais-Suomessa ja sen seuraukset*, vol. 5:3, *Varsinais-Suomen Historia*, ed. Einar V. Juva et al. (Turku: Varsinaissuomen historiantutkimusyhdistys, 1955), 23.

79 Lars Anton Anjou, *Svenska kyrkoreformationens historia* (Uppsala: C. A. Leffler, 1851), 54–63; Larson, *Reforming the North*, 65–72; Sven-Erik Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 2, *Hög- och senmedeltid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 109–113, 120–123, 156; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 12–14.

These measures for the nobility sanctioned what some nobles were already doing to ecclesiastical land holdings. Under the cover of Gustav's confiscations of church property, the nobility began to start taking land on its own before the Västerås meeting. Already in 1523, Erik Fleming bought a plot of land owned by the diocese in Pargas (Parainen). He bought in the same year farmland from the relatives of one Henrik Skrivare who had planned to donate his farm to the Naantali Abbey after his death.[80] Erik Fleming then turned around and in 1526 and made his sister, Abbess Valborg of Naantali, rent the farm of Rasalax belonging to the abbey to Henrik Skrivare's son, Lasse, the mayor of Vyborg. In 1527, the Fleming brothers Erik and Joakim agreed to allow Skrivare to own the land in his own right.[81] In August 1526, King Gustav decided a dispute over land between Petrus Särkilahti and the Naantali Abbey in Särkilahti's favor.[82] Nobles took several other farmlands belonging to the abbey in the same year.[83] Erik's younger brother, Ivar, exchanged plots of land with the diocese in 1525.[84] The decision at Västerås would now give even more cover to the Flemings and other nobles in their land acquisitions.

The church had several forms of wealth: farmland, taxes, precious metals, and real estate. Unlike in many other parts of Europe where local rulers confiscated church property, the lands and wealth that Gustav gained were not just nice additions to an already existing princely opulence. The church had far more wealth than the Crown. West of the Gulf of Bothnia, the church owned four times as much land as the king. East of the gulf, the church owned almost three times as much as the Crown.[85] Despite the wide-ranging mandate from the estates at Västerås, Gustav would spend the rest of his thirty-seven year reign confiscating the church's wealth. This long process stemmed from several factors. First, the church had a diverse, complicated, and uncatalogued portfolio of wealth. Second, Gustav Vasa had to develop the bureaucratic wherewithal for the comprehensive confiscation of such a portfolio. A third factor to consider is that Gustav practiced caution in respect to Lutheran reform and his

80 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6145, 6148.

81 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6297, 6400.

82 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6317.

83 Leinberg, *Finska klostren*, 270.

84 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6268.

85 Eli Heckscher, *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustav Vasa*, vol. 1, *Före frihetstiden* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1935), Bihang 14–17; Eljas Orrman, "Talonpoikainen yhteiskunta," in *Suomen maatalouden historia*, vol. 1, *Perinteisen maatalouden aika: Esihistoriasta 1870-luvulle*, ed. Viljo Rasila, Eino Jutikkala, and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), 120.

own royal reform. The royal reform of the Swedish church was a Reformation by attrition. The king was able to get his way in many respects by simply outlasting his opponents. Despite his reputation as a ruthless confiscator of the church's wealth, Gustav Vasa understood the need for caution in confronting the church. Or, perhaps more exactly, he learned patience the hard way. The king faced on the western side of the Gulf of Bothnia several rebellions, such as the rebellions in Dalarna 1524–1533, the Västergötland rebellion in 1529, or Nils Dacke's rebellion in 1542–1543, all of which were in part sparked by opposition of Gustav's takeover of the church.

With the estates' approval of the recess, Gustav strengthened his control even more over the church by calling a meeting of the Council of the Realm to create a more specific plan of action based on the estates' decisions. The Ordinance of Västerås gave Gustav to right to reject any choice by a bishop of a parish priest and approve all appointments to cathedral chapters and the remaining church prebends. The Crown assumed fines levied in church courts. Mendicant orders were limited to begging to ten weeks a year. The king would determine the amount of the bishops' "excess income" that he would receive. In a sign of Gustav's continuing desire to avoid an open conflict with Rome, specific prohibitions on any payments to Rome were eliminated from the ordinance's final version, although the king continued to refuse to remit money to Rome.[86]

The king took quick action after the Västerås meeting to cash in on his new authority. On 7 July 1528, Gustav instructed his bailiff in Turku, Jens Västgöte, to assume on his behalf all rents tied to the castle at Kuusisto. He commanded his bailiff to make an accounting of the bishop's tithes, rents, cash reserves, income from fisheries, and fines. The bailiff was directed to take all of these revenue streams for the Crown.[87] In November 1527, Gustav came to an agreement with the Cathedral Chapter of Turku concerning the rest of the church's income. Gustav concluded similar agreements with other dioceses. The agreements reveal again the clergy's participation in the transfer of ecclesiastical property to the Crown. The agreements reveal a pragmatic streak in Gustav: he did not possess the bureaucracy yet to take all of the church's property, so he took what he could manage to take. The main elements of the agreement required the diocese to give the Crown four lasts of butter and one hundred fifty marks annually, primarily for the maintenance of military encampments in Finland. This investment in Finland's defense might have further encouraged

86 *SRA*, vol. 1, 89–100; Roberts, *Early Vasas,* 78–79.

87 *KGR*, vol. 4, 274–275; Läntinen, *Piispanpöytä,* 16.

the clergy to cooperate. The other main aspect of the agreement allowed the Crown to take all vacant prebends.[88]

Between 1521 and 1527 Gustav Vasa's rule of the Swedish kingdom consisted of managing a plethora of crises. His own rebellion against Christian II created a crisis of political authority in the Swedish kingdom that did not end with his coronation in June 1523. To retain power, Gustav had to master a crisis of the Crown's finances. Gustav saw a way to resolve these crises by taking over the church's resources and appointments, as well as by giving Lutheran reform limited space to grow. The king found willing clerical allies in his drive to take over the church's wealth and administration from both theological reformers and traditionalists. By the time of the *riksdag* in Västerås, Gustav had brought Finland more in line with his ecclesiastical policies west of the Gulf of Bothnia. Further steps would require a bishop with the full authority and credibility to act as both the king's agent of ecclesiastical change and the spiritual head of the faithful. The diocese would receive such a bishop in 1528 when Gustav Vasa approved an elderly Dominican monk for the position.

88 *FMU*, vol 8, 6397.

CHAPTER 3

Reformation by Coexistence

On Epiphany 1528 in Strängnäs Cathedral three new bishops were consecrated—Magnus Sommar as bishop of Strängnäs, Magnus Haraldsson as bishop of Skara, and Martinus Skytte as bishop of Turku. In taking their oaths of office, the new bishops promised to proclaim the Gospel and obey the king. All three men had already demonstrated a willingness to surrender the church's wealth to the Crown. They shared the king's desire to avoid open conflict over the church's teachings and practices. The three new bishops were not zealous Lutheran reformers, but rather prelates open to some reform and reluctant to cut ties with Rome. All three were consecrated by Bishop Peder Månsson of Västerås, who himself had been consecrated by Pope Clement VII in Rome in 1524. Peder Månsson apparently agreed to consecrate these bishops on the condition that papal confirmation would be sought. Even though papal confirmation was never sought or received, the Swedish church on the basis of this ceremony would claim apostolic succession. A week later, on 12 January 1528, in the same cathedral, these bishops participated in the formal coronation of Gustav Vasa as king.[1]

From the end of the Västerås *riksdag* until the end of the 1530s, a multitude of diverse visions concerning the church's future openly coexisted. The Diocese of Turku exemplified this spirit of coexistence. For over twenty years as its head, Martinus Skytte, a Dominican monk, never formally embraced or rejected Lutheran reform. He not only tolerated the growth of Lutheranism in his diocese, but also he facilitated the education of a new generation of diocesan leaders at Wittenberg.

Bishops and Reformation

The church historian Theodor von Haag wrote in 1944 "the episcopal question does not stand at the periphery but rather at the center of the events that determined the course of the Reformation in Sweden."[2] This statement, written

1 Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, *Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 57–58; Theodor van Haag, "Die Apostolische Sukzession in Schweden," *Kyrkohistorisk årskrift* 44 (1944): 7–15.

2 Haag, "Apostolische Sukzession," 5.

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when Reformation research focused primarily on the clergy, theologians, and temporal rulers, still holds validity, especially during Gustav Vasa's reign. King Gustav saw the reduction if not the elimination of the bishops' economic and political power, if not the elimination of the episcopacy itself, as key to reforming the church into a royal institution. His ideal model for ecclesiastical administration consisted of individual parishes under some central ecclesiastical authority closely attached to him without intermediate agencies, such as dioceses, bishops, and cathedral chapters. While Gustav never achieved this ideal, he rather quickly exercised appointment power to these intermediate agencies. Already in 1526, Gustav demanded payment from the Cathedral Chapter of Turku for the appointment of Johannes Petri to the chapter's position of dean. In 1529 Gustav approved Petrus Sild to the position of archdeacon in the chapter with the assumption that Sild would proclaim "the teachings of Christ and the Holy Gospel."[3]

He further undermined dioceses by using the power given to him at Västerås to appoint directly more local parish pastors. In the Diocese of Turku, as in the rest of the kingdom, most parish priests had been chosen by the peasants and appointed by the bishop. This was in keeping with the medieval right of patronage. The peasants had built the churches, and thus had a right to participate in the selection of their priests. The king, too, had the right of patronage in a handful of parishes in the Diocese of Turku: Ulvila, Kokemäki, Perniö (Bjärnå), Mynämäki, Karjaa (Karis), Vanaja (Vånå), Vyborg, and Finström.[4] By the end of the 1530s, Gustav had appointed pastors to at least thirty of Finland's parishes. Gustav's letters of appointment called on pastors to proclaim the Word of God. The same letters required pastors to give the king a fixed contribution every year.[5] While in theory Gustav claimed the right to make all pastoral appointments, he never did so in practice.[6] The lack of sources makes it difficult to ascertain why some pastors received formal royal appointments and others did not.

3 Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, vol. 8 (Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1935), Document 6502; Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 48.

4 Jukka Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1980), 363–364.

5 Examples of such letters from the time are Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 12 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1890), 56–59.

6 Karl Adolf Appelberg, *Bidrag till belysning af sättet för prästtjänsternas besättande i Finland från reformationen till medlet av 17:de seklet* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 1896), 50–52.

The king did not have a ready pool of pastors for all vacant positions, so he still had to rely on the preferences of bishops, cathedral chapters, or congregations. Both medieval tradition and Lutheran reform ideas dictated that pastors know the language of their flocks, a factor that might have narrowed or eliminated the king's personal choices when filling positions in Finnish-speaking parishes.

The king further denigrated episcopal authority by removing bishops from office. Of the twenty-four bishops who were appointed by King Gustav or were already in office when he became king, at least eight of them saw their tenure in office ended by the king. Often formal removal from office occurred after the bishop fled the kingdom, such as in the case of Gustav Vasa's once chief ecclesiastical ally, Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping. After the Västerås *riksdag* in 1527, Brask, an opponent of the new theological influences taking root in Sweden, interpreted the decisions at Västerås as a point of no return for the Swedish church in its break with Rome. He fled to Poland, where he lived in exile until his death in 1538.[7] Of the three bishops consecrated in January 1528, only Martinus Skytte would die as bishop in 1550. Magnus Haraldsson fled the kingdom in 1529 in connection with his participation in the Västergötland rebellion. Magnus Sommar lost his office in 1536 after Gustav suspected him of participation in the Stockholm Gunpowder Plot targeted against the king.[8]

Of all of the bishops who served during Gustav's reign, Skytte's tenure of twenty-two years was clearly surpassed only by the twenty-nine years of Archbishop Laurentius Petri of Uppsala, who was consecrated in 1531 and outlived Gustav Vasa until his own death in 1573. Henricus Johannis, a Dominican like Skytte, led the Diocese of Västerås 1534–1556, although he was formally consecrated bishop only in 1536.[9] When so many bishops lost their jobs, how did Skytte stay so long in office? Youth was not a factor, since he was well into his sixties when he took office in 1528. The thin body of sources point to three explanations. First, Skytte accepted the king's takeover of both the church's property and its governance. Second, Skytte abided the growth of Lutheran reform. Third, Gustav Vasa saw Skytte's continuation in office as a positive force for his kingdom's internal stability and external security.

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7 Haag, "Apostolische Sukzession," 16.

8 Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 109, 135.

9 Ivan Svalenius, "Henricus Johannis," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Presentation.aspx?id=12877 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

The Background and Reputation of Martinus Skytte

With his selection of Martinus Skytte, King Gustav continued the succession of Finnish-born bishops in the Diocese of Turku. Skytte's exact year of birth is unknown, although most estimates range sometime in the 1460s; if so, he was well into his sixties when consecrated bishop. He was born of parents belonging to the nobility or *frälse*. After attending school in Rauma and Turku, he joined the Dominicans and studied in several universities in Germany and Italy, eventually teaching in the Dominicans' college in Naples. In 1508 he served as the prior of the monastery in Sigtuna near Stockholm, a task that he again assumed at the beginning of the 1520s.

After taking power, Gustav promoted Skytte to the post of vicar of all Dominican convents in the kingdom in 1525. No sources illuminate what brought Skytte to Gustav's attention. Considering the importance that the king placed on assuming the church's wealth, Skytte likely had demonstrated an acceptance of the king's confiscation of church property. Moreover, Skytte demonstrated pragmatism or indifference toward reform of the church's teachings and practices. Skytte's age might have further influenced Gustav's decision to name him bishop. The king might have assumed that Skytte would not hold office long enough to pose a threat to him. These possible factors along with his Finnish birth would have made Skytte an attractive candidate to Gustav for the position of bishop of Turku in 1528.[10]

Skytte's image in popular memory and scholarship has largely been formed by Paulus Juusten's chronicle of Finland's bishops (*Chronicon episcoporum finlandensium*). Juusten completed this work during the first half of the 1570s, some twenty years after Skytte's death. Juusten wrote about the bishop that "Lord Martinus was known for his great piety, his moderation, his gentleness, and his clean living. Because he loved the Christian faith and represented the correct Mass, he practiced great generosity toward all. He had a habit, when he was at home, to give five or six marks of alms to the poor on Fridays. In addition, at his command the poor and beggars were constantly fed.... So he was in all virtues a shining example to others until the end of his life."[11]

10 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 56; Jarl Gallén, "Wem var biskop Martin Skytte?" *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 20 (1935): 38–44; Simo Heininen and Hannu Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 2002), 63–64; Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY 1960), 37; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 44.

11 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 56.

It bears mentioning that Juusten, like many of the sixteenth-century reformers, benefitted from Skytte's support. Nonetheless, nothing in the primary source record contradicts Juusten's characterization.

While the other two bishops consecrated in 1528 quickly fell out of grace with Gustav Vasa, Skytte remained in good standing with the king despite his efforts to keep the king at arm's length. In 1530 with the backing of both the Council of the Realm and the Cathedral Chapter of Uppsala, Gustav asked Skytte to become the new archbishop of Uppsala. Skytte refused the offer seemingly without incurring the king's displeasure.[12] Age might have played a role in Skytte's decision. He might have felt that, as archbishop, he would really need papal approval. The pope's own appointee to the position, Gustav Trolle, was still alive. The papacy's continued claim to appointment power was evidenced by the pope's appointment of Johannes Magnus as archbishop to replace Trolle in 1533. Johannes had been Gustav's candidate for the position in 1523, but he later fell out of favor with the king. After serving as the king's diplomat to Russia in 1526, he exiled himself to Rome.[13]

Skytte did not participate in important meetings of the clergy and the estates in the 1530s in which Gustav clashed with church leaders. No evidence suggests any displeasure by the king with Skytte's absences. Skytte was exempt from Gustav's expansive paranoia that led him to suspect and often prosecute almost everyone in the kingdom's elite for treachery at one time or another. Skytte had not involved himself in any of the plots or rebellions that had challenged Gustav's rule. Skytte represented the kind of reformer that Gustav wanted in the early 1530s: he did not oppose the king's takeover of the church and demonstrated flexibility in respect to the reform of the church's teachings and practices. Unlike the two other bishops consecrated in Strängnäs, no evidence suggests that Skytte ever made a formal representation of his loyalty to the Catholic Church. In August 1531, Bishop Magnus Sommar of Strängnäs and Peder Månsson of Västerås composed a secret protest against Lutheranism and the consecration of Laurentius Petri as archbishop. They swore loyalty to the pope and pledged to seek papal confirmation for their offices as soon as possible.[14]

12 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6502; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1877), 103.

13 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 50–51.

14 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 90–91.

TABLE 2 *Bishops Appointed During Gustav Vasa's Reign (1521–1560)*

Diocese	Reason for End of Term as Bishop in Gustav's Reign
Uppsala	
Johannes Magnus, *electus* 1523–1526	Left country 1526
Laurentius Petri Nericius 1531–1573	Outlived Gustav Vasa
Turku	
Ericus Svenonis, *electus* 1523–27	Resigned
Martinus Skytte 1528–1550	Died in Office
Mikael Agricola 1554–1557	Died in Office
Petrus Follingius 1558–1563	Outlived Gustav Vasa
Växjö	
Ingemarus Petri 1494–1530	Died in Office
Jonas Boetii 1530–1542	Died in Office
Nicolas Canuti 1553–1576	Outlived Gustav Vasa
Västerås	
Petrus Jacobi Guti (Sunnanväder) 1523	Removed
Peder Månsson (Petrus Magni) 1523–1534	Died in Office
Henricus Johannis 1534–1556	Died in Office
Petrus Andreae Niger (Swart) 1557–1562	Outlived Gustav Vasa
Strängnäs	
Magnus Sommar 1522–1536	Removed
Botvid Sunesson (Botvidis Sunonis) 1536–1555	Removed
Ericus Nicolai Swart 1557–1561	Outlived Gustav Vasa
Linköping	
Hans Brask 1513–1527	Removed
Jöns Månsson 1529–1540	Removed
Claus Canuti (Nicolaus Hvit) 1543–1558	Removed
Erik Falk 1558–1569	Outlived Gustav Vasa
Skara	
Magnus Haraldsson 1522–1529	Removed
Sveno Jacobi 1530–1544	Unknown: Removed or Resigned
Erik Svensson Hjort 1544–1545	Died in Office
Erik Falk 1547–1558	Transferred to Linköping
Erik Pedersson Hwass 1558–1560	Died in Office
Removed: 8	
Died: 8	
Outlived: 6	
Resigned: 1	
Transfer: 1	
Unknown: 1	

The Royal Takeover of Ecclesiatical Wealth

Evidence of Skytte's willingness to accept the king's takeover of the church's property was his acceptance of the closing of his own Dominican order in Finland. At the Västerås *riksdag,* Gustav outlined his plans for the elimination of his kingdom's monasteries, convents, and nunneries through attrition. Despite the king's own antipathy toward monasticism, a view supported by Lutheran reform, the king could have had a justifiable concern about the potential threat of instability that might result from immediately closing monasteries. The sources concerning Finland's monastic communities are sparse in general and for first half of the sixteenth century in particular. For example, the earliest document for the Franciscan monastery on the island of Kökar during Gustav Vasa's reign is a letter in 1526 by Gustav Vasa placing the supervision of the monastery under the supervision of Bishop Vincent of Gardar.[15] Subsequent documents do not appear again until 1536–1542. These documents reveal confiscations of silver, as well as the monastery's taxes and rents paid in fish from the monastery to the Crown. After that, references to the monastery as an active community end. It is believed that the monastery was abandoned around 1540. The residents of the island then used the monastery's church as a chapel.[16]

On the mainland, the Dominicans' small presence in both Turku and Vyborg declined. The prior of the Turku convent, Michael Carpelan, quit his job, married, and then became pastor of Taivassalo (Tövsala) parish in 1529.[17] In 1537 the Dominican convent in Turku burned to the ground and was not rebuilt. The building's surviving materials were later used to renovate the castle of Kastelholm in the Åland Islands.[18] In March 1541, Gustav allowed the city of Vyborg to take the Dominicans' remaining property in those cities. He similarly suggested using the building's materials for the city's defenses.[19] In 1538 a

15 J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1865), 297; Erik Bertell, *Kronans och kyrkans jord på Åland under 1500-talet* (Mariehamn: Föreningen Ålands vänner, 1953), 83. For more on Bishop Vincent, see pp. 58–59.

16 Bertell, *Kronans och kyrkans jord*, 83.

17 Kauko Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio Varsinais-Suomessa ja sen seuraukset*, vol. 5:3, *Varsinais-Suomen Historia*, ed. Einar V. Juva et al. (Turku: Varsinaissuomen historiantutkimusyhdistys, 1955), 21; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 49; Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 281; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 43–44.

18 C. J. Gardberg, *Veritas—Totuus! Turun dominikaanit keskiajalla* (Espoo: Schildts, 2005), 68.

19 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 13 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1891), 229–230; K. G. Leinberg, *De finska klostrens historia* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1890), 78–80.

fire in the city of Rauma burned down the church's rectory. The city, lacking the funds for a new building, turned to the king for help. Gustav awarded the city its Franciscan monastery.[20] In each of these cases how many it is not known if anyone still resided in these monastic houses when they ceased to operate or where possible residents went afterwards. After 1540 the only monastic institution still in operation was the Bridgettine abbey in Naantali.

Months after Skytte's installation as bishop in June 1528, Gustav visibly demonstrated his control over the church's wealth by ordering the dilapidated bishop's castle at Kuusisto razed to the ground. The king justified his action by stating that there was no need to maintain two fortresses—Kuusisto and Turku—that were so close to each other. The castle was the most visible symbol of the church's power that Gustav wanted to eliminate. The king insured that as many as possible knew about his decision by framing his demolition order in an open letter to the people of Finland empowering his bailiff at Turku Castle to draft the necessary labor to raze the castle.[21]

With the mandate from the Västerås meeting in hand, Gustav sought to formalize his control over the church's income. In January 1528, Gustav made agreements with the three newly installed bishops concerning their income. Martinus Skytte was allowed to take four lasts of grain from the episcopal prebend of Nya Korsen. The bishop was allowed to keep his share of income from fines levied in ecclesiastical courts. Other episcopal income went to the king.[22] In June 1528, a more detailed agreement of the division of the "bishop's table" was established. According to the agreement, the king asked "Father Bishop Martinus in Turku that he should give us annually from the rents and exactions of the episcopal seat one thousand marks of money, ten lasts of butter, ten shippounds of pike, three lasts of salmon, ten lasts of rye, ten lasts of wheat, six lasts of oats in Swedish measure, in such a way that money, the rye, wheat and oats shall be annually shipped here to Stockholm Castle with the first open water in the spring and the butter, salmon, and pike at the time of Michaelmas [29 September] in the fall."[23] Gustav subsequently would change the terms of the agreement several times. Already in March 1529, he accepted less grain in exchange for eight lasts of beer.[24]

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20 K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä; Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892), 1–2.

21 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6415; J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1871), vol. 5, 97–98;

22 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6406; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 50*.

23 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6416.

24 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6437.

In June 1529, Gustav reduced the size of many of the contributions, and asked that the contributions of rye and wheat be sold in Finland and the proceeds sent to Stockholm.[25]

In the middle of August 1530, Gustav Vasa arrived in Finland for a three-week visit. Geographically, the visit covered only the Åland Islands and the coast between Turku and Raseborg. Politically, the king executed a broad statebuilding agenda. He addressed complaints against the nobility, in particular, against two of Gustav's chief administrators, the brothers Ivar and Erik Fleming. In the case of Erik Fleming, Gustav took away from him administration of the province of Raseborg and later the parish of Sauvo (Sagu), which he held as a fief. Those failing to provide a cavalryman were removed from the rolls of the *frälse*. The king took several measures to increase the Crown's power over the church. He confiscated lands both as king and as a noble whose ancestors had donated lands.[26] On 7 September, the king made an agreement with the cathedral chapter that the chapter would pay seven hundred marks and four lasts of butter in place of quartering soldiers.[27] The king had made agreements with other dioceses.[28] These agreements reflected not only Gustav's desire for the church's wealth but also his inability to access it. Gustav did not have yet a comprehensive bureaucracy for mastering the flow of revenue streams. He needed the clergy's cooperation to confiscate the church's wealth. The last mention in the primary sources of Petrus Särkilahti, one of the earliest Lutheran reformers in Finland, is an inventory that he took for the king of the property of the deceased priest in the parish of Tammela.[29] This is another early example of Lutheran-minded reformers collaborating with the king in his royal reform program.

The king needed the clergy's cooperation, since much of the population was not on board with any kind of reform of the church. Opposition to reform, royal and Lutheran, was evident at the *riksdag* in Strängnäs in the summer of 1529

25 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6453.

26 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 64–68.

27 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6525, 6542; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 67–68.

28 Ingrid Hammarström, *Finansförvaltning och varuhandel: Studier i de yngre Sturarnas och Gustav Vasas statshushållning* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 322–341; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 52.

29 Aulis Oja, "Tammelan seurakunnan vanhimmat asiakirjat," *Lounais-Hämeen kotiseutu- ja museoyhdistys vuosikirja* 16 (1947): 5–19; Eeva Ojanen, *Tammelan seurakunnan historia* (Forssa: Forssa kirjanpano, 1990), 33.

and the outbreak of the Västergötland rebellion in the same year.[30] In July 1530, Gustav made a specific written command to the people of Finland to pay its tithes to the church. People now understood that they were paying two kinds of taxes to the king—the traditional taxes collected by a bailiff and now those collected by the church. At least some seemed to question the necessity of double taxation.[31]

Finland's system of church taxation during the Middle Ages had become very complicated. Church taxes were received by three separate entities—the bishop, the local parish priest, and the parish. Church taxes were paid—as most taxes in the sixteenth century—in kind rather than in cash. In the western and southern coastal areas, taxes were paid largely in wheat and butter. Depending on whether one lived in an area where the "Finnish law" or "Swedish law" of taxation prevailed, one would have to pay the local pastor a surcharge based on wheat or butter. In places where Swedish tax law existed bishops collected a head tax, but in reality the tax did not extend beyond one or two persons living on the same homestead, even if there were more Communion-age people. In Ostrobothnia, the bishop collected head taxes in barely and perch. In the far northern parts of Ostrobothnia, such as the parishes of Kemi and Ii, this tax was based on salmon.

In the interior regions of Häme, Savo, Karelia, and parts of Satakunta (Satakunda) pastors generally received their taxes in various kinds of grains, hemp, and fish. Taxes to bishops and parishes were paid primarily in skins, as in weasel and marten for bishops, in squirrel for parishes. As the population of these animals declined by the end of the medieval era, cash began to replace pelts as a form of payment. Only in the seventeenth century were the systems of taxation in the coastal areas fully extended to the interior.[32]

Most of the new revenue that the king received came from assuming well-established revenue streams from ecclesiastical taxes and rents. In keeping with the actions of other statebuilding monarchs of the time, Gustav instituted additional extraordinary taxes and charges. One such tax was a tax on church bells in cities for which Gustav received a mandate from the Council of the Realm in January 1530. In a similar meeting in Örebro a year later, Gustav received a mandate to extend this tax to all parishes. Interestingly, Gustav in respect to Finland applied the order to all churches on the coast already in 1530. A plausible explanation for this is that Finland had only six cities in 1530 but other communities along the coast could provide bells. Gustav justified the

30 Aarre Läntinen, *Turun keskiaikainen piispanpöytä* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1978), 222.

31 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6523.

32 Suvianna Seppälä, *Viljana, nahkoina, kapakalana: Talonpoikien maksamat kruununverot Suomessa vuosina 1539–1609* (Helsinki: SKS, 2009), 42–43.

tax by the need to pay off debts to Lübeck and give the kingdom the resources needed to face other threats, such as the exiled Christian II. Because of the collections in 1530, Gustav was able to give Lübeck 30,000 marks of bell metal. This new tax required churches in principle to give up their largest bell. If the church had only one bell, it had to pay an amount half of the bell's value in order to keep it. The revised order of 1531 provided alternatives of payment, such as relinquishing a smaller bell and compensating the difference by a payment in cash or kind. The fragmentary evidence from the 1530s suggests that few churches in Finland actually gave up their bells to the king and instead paid to keep them. In Ostrobothnia, the churches of Korsholm (Mustasaari) and Pietarsaari (Jakobstad) handed over bells.[33]

Precious metals, the church's large silver holdings in particular, similarly attracted the king's attention. The king took anything with silver content: chalices, patens, flasks for oils and holy water, spoons, monstrances, crucifixes, croziers, and rings. Two collections of silver took place in Finland in 1536 and 1539. The first one brought to the king 487 Swedish silver marks worth of silver, the second one a little over forty-five silver marks.[34] During his reign, Gustav's haul of silver from the church has been valued at 244,804 silver marks, of that 7,693 came from Finland. Considering that the Diocese of Turku was one of the wealthier dioceses, it is unlikely that Finland really had only one-thirtieth of the church's silver in the kingdom. The major explanation for this disproportion lies in that, for reasons that remain unclear, Gustav did not implement a comprehensive confiscation of silver in Finland until 1557–1558. The long delay in implementing a comprehensive confiscation gave parishes time to realize their silver in order to reduce the impact of Gustav's fiscal impositions. Some parishes used their silver to pay the bell tax and other taxes placed on the church. The proceeds from the sales ended up in Gustav's coffers but were not counted as confiscated silver.[35]

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33 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1877), 12–13; Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Alin, eds., *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 158–159; Olle Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver under Gustav Vasa," *Forvännen* 35 (1940): 208–209; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 94–95; Hannu Välimäki, *Kymmenyksistä kirkollisveroon: Kirkollisverotus Suomen evankelisluterilaisessa kirkossa reformaatiosta nykypäivään* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2002), 67.

34 RA Roda nummerserien 352. The Swedish silver mark was worth ten Swedish marks.

35 RA Röda nummerserien 352; Olle Källström, *Medeltida kyrksilver från Sverige och Finland förlorat genom Gustav Vasas konfiskationer* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, 1939), 95–146; Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver," 207–216.

Those who might have been tempted to hide precious metals encountered a king who was informed about the locations of possible ecclesiastical wealth. In July 1535, Gustav commanded his bailiff in Vyborg, Nils Grabbe, to Porvoo to investigate reports that the church was hiding valuables. Grabbe's investigation uncovered, among other items, a chalice, monstrance, and two small storage boxes, probably for relics.[36] It seems unlikely that a parish could hoard any significant collection of precious metals between the investigations of king's bailiffs and the parishes' increasing need for liquid assets. In the centuries since Gustav's death, no significant hidden stashes of ecclesiastical precious metals have been found.

Gustav Vasa, Reform, and Europe

King Gustav formulated his calculated approaches to royal and Lutheran reform out of both domestic and European conditions. He needed the church's resources to face many external threats. At the same time, if the king pushed royal and Lutheran reform too hard, he risked inciting an internal revolt that external forces could exploit. During the first half of the 1530s, the Swedish king's main foreign policy concerns were Lübeck, the deposed Christian II, and Christian's father-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Gustav not only owed Lübeck significant amounts of money, but also he paid for the Hanse city's help by granting it trade privileges that gave it virtual control over Sweden's foreign trade. The exiled Christian II, despite his conversions from and to Catholicism, still enjoyed the support of his brother-in-law, Charles V.

Interestingly, despite the Kalmar Union's collapse, the Scandinavian kingdoms cooperated effectively over the next four decades in the face of common enemies. Both Gustav Vasa and Frederick I sought to end Lübeck's commercial hegemony and defend themselves from the exiled Christian II. In 1530, the emperor agreed to help his brother-in-law regain his thrones. In November 1531, Christian landed with a small naval force in Norway and met a supportive populace. This propitious start quickly turned to disaster. Christian failed to take the main fortress in southern Norway, Akershus, outside of Oslo. His

36 Reinhold Hausen, ed, *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vol. 3, *Spridda urkunder från tiden 1531–1560* (Helsinki: J. Simelii Arfvingars tryckeri, 1904), 55; K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä; Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892), 1–2; C. J. Gardberg, "Kustaa Vaasan aika, vuodesta 1523 vuoteen 1546," in *Porvoon kaupungin historia*, vol. 1, ed. Torsten Edgren and C. J. Gardberg (Porvoo: Porvoon kaupunki, 1996), 256.

invasion of Sweden became a retreat once it encountered Swedish forces. Facing certain defeat, Christian accepted the invitation of King Frederick I to come to Copenhagen for negotiations. Upon reaching the Danish capital in July 1532, Christian was thrown immediately into prison, where he remained until his death in 1559.[37]

Shortly thereafter, the Scandinavian kings faced renewed aggression from Lübeck. By 1533, a revolutionary regime under Jürgen Wullenwever had achieved full control of Lübeck. Wullenwever's rule meant the removal of the city's Catholic ruling patrician oligarchy, the introduction of church reform, and a radical departure in foreign relations. Instead of playing the Scandinavian kingdoms off against one another, as Lübeck often had done in the medieval era, Wullenwever chose instead to attack both simultaneously. In 1533 he demanded that Sweden and Denmark join Lübeck in an attack on Dutch shipping. Apparently forgetting the complicity of Charles V's government in the Netherlands in Christian's attempt to regain his thrones, Sweden and Denmark rejected Wullenwever's demand and supported the right of the Dutch to trade in the Baltic. King Gustav exploited the opportunity to rescind Lübeck's monopoly over Sweden's foreign trade.

The regime in Lübeck then decided in 1534 to reimpose its authority in Scandinavia. Wullenwever's megalomania aside, the Lübeckers had sound reasons for attacking Sweden and Denmark. In April 1533, Frederick I had died, and the Danish nobility, wanting to reassert itself politically, delayed the formal elevation of his son, Christian, to the throne. Lübeck contributed to the unstable political situation in Denmark by encouraging the supporters of Christian II to help Lübeck liberate the imprisoned king. With their strong naval force and popular support in Denmark, the Lübeckers only needed a commander for a land army. They found one in the person of Count Christopher of Oldenburg, a distant relative of the Danish Oldenburgs. In Sweden, the Lübeckers had succeeded in gaining the support of Gustav Vasa's opponents.[38]

The Danish nobility and Gustav Vasa in February 1534 countered Lübeck's moves by joining the battle against Lübeck and its toadies. By June 1535, the forces of King Gustav and newly crowned King Christian III of Denmark had vanquished their enemies. Wullenwever was overthrown in August of the same

37 Paul-Erik Hansen, *Kejser Karl V og det skandinaviske Norden 1523–1544* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1943), 120–121; Jason Lavery, *Germany's Northern Challenge: The Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian Struggle for Baltic Hegemony 1563–1576* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2002), 9–10; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 95–96.

38 Lavery, *Germany's Northern Challenge*, 9–10; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 98–99.

year. Breaking a mutual pledge not to make separate peace agreements, the Danes signed a peace treaty with Lübeck in February 1536 and then pressured Sweden to do so in the summer of the next year. In the negotiations mediated by Christian III, Sweden and Lübeck agreed to a truce that subjected Lübeck's commerce with Sweden to the same laws as trade from other countries. This meant the end of Lübeck's commercial control over Sweden.[39] Christian III used the breach between Sweden and Lübeck to weaken the Hanse's and specifically Lübeck's prerogatives in his realms, especially in respect to Norway and Scania.[40] Lübeck's medieval lordship over the Scandinavian economies had ended. With his two most existential threats—Lübeck and Christian II—defeated, Gustav felt he could now push harder for a more royal and Lutheran church.

Religious Reform

During the 1520s and 1530s in particular, the attitudes of the Swedish kingdom's clergy toward theological reform of the church during Gustav Vasa's reign are extremely difficult to categorize. One the one hand, seemingly few clergymen wanted a return to the church before Gustav's rebellion. Broad consensus covered many key issues, above all the acceptance of royal confiscation of at least some ecclesiastical property and the need to increase the use of the vernacular in the church's work. On the other hand, there were almost as many reform agendas as reforming clergymen. Clergymen did not formally create factions. Many clergymen cannot be placed into nice categories of "Catholic" and "Lutheran." Some historians have employed a third category of "reform Catholic" as a means of giving greater nuance to the diverse views of the clergy and to give voice to those who saw themselves neither as immutable Catholics nor aggressive Lutherans.[41]

In his biography of one leading "reform Catholic" of the 1530s, Bishop Sveno Jacobi of Skara, Otfried Czaika questions the explanatory power of the term. In examining Jacobi's library, Czaika does not discover any books by Catholic partisans. In fact, all of his books collected after 1520 were eventually banned

39 Sven Lundkvist, *Gustav Vasa och Europa: Svensk handels- och utrikespolitik 1534–1557* (Uppsala: Svenska bokförlaget, 1960), 142–145; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 99–102.

40 Poul Colding, *Studier i Danmarks politiske historie i slutningen af Christian III.s og begyndelsen af Frederik II.s tid* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1939), 313–327.

41 Sven Kjöllerström, "Gustav Vasa, reformkatoliker och evangeliska reformatorer," *Kirkehistoriske samlinger* (1976): 23–43. Even though the term is strong associated with Kjöllertström, it was used before his article, for example Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa,* 51.

by the Catholic Church. The supposed moderating influence of Melanchthon and Erasmus on Jacobi is primarily based on an understanding of historians rather than of contemporaries of the two men as moderates or theological centrists. Jacobi's use of Latin in the Mass did not distinguish himself from more openly partisan Lutherans who also used Latin in more vernacular Masses. The bishop's desire for greater concord among the clergy is taken to suggest, without consulting the sources, that Jacobi did not have strong views of his own and thus wanted a hybrid of Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism for its own sake.[42] While one can question how "Lutheran" Sveno Jacobi really was, the term "reform Catholic" is merely a catchall term to mean any reform-minded clergyman whom historians cannot classify as either an unalloyed Catholic or Lutheran partisan. There was no specific "reform Catholic" program in the Swedish kingdom's church.

The lack of cohesion among the clergy concerning theological reform was compounded by the king's ambivalence about reforming the church's beliefs and practices. His only consistently articulated belief was that the church should preach, as he put it at the Västerås *riksdag*, "the pure Word of God." Laurentius Andreae, the king's secretary, told Skytte and his colleagues that "the most important of what the king demands of you is that he wants you to be Evangelical and not papal bishops, bishops of the Word of God, not the word of the pope."[43] During the first of months of his tenure as bishop, Skytte received several exhortations from the king "to promote and foster the holy evangelical doctrine that belongs to your office."[44] In October 1528, Gustav sent a letter to all of Finland's clergy in which he again called on the clergy to preach "the pure Word of God and the Gospel" and use "the large part of scripture, which is now in our own tongue."[45] This is a reference to the Swedish New Testament produced in 1526.

Gustav Vasa never defined comprehensively his meaning of "the pure Word of God." It is also unclear to what extent he understood the concept as reformers of the church did. In the context of his other actions toward the church, the pure Word for the king probably meant two things. First, Christianity should be as simple a belief system as possible. He wanted a church that emphasized scripture and eschewed complicated doctrines as well as excessive ritual. Second, he wanted a church whose doctrinal discourse did not interrupt his

42 Otfried Czaika, *Sveno Jacobi: Boksamlaren, biskopen, teologen: En bok- och kyrkohistorisk studie* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2013).

43 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 64.

44 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6417, 6421; *KGR*, vol. 5, 99–100.

45 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6427.

statebuilding work. One way to avoid such interruptions was to give space to all factions that did not oppose his statebuilding agenda. As Lars-Olof Larsson has pointed out, the exhortation of "the pure Word of God" gave no group the feeling that it was opposed to the king, since all clergymen believed that they were indeed preaching God's Word purely.[46]

Such an atomized community of reformers could only move together in small steps. In February 1529 leaders of the church met in Örebro for the first time since the Västerås *riksdag*. The meeting agreed to emphasize the preaching of "the pure Word of God" by mandating the use of the Our Father, the Creed, the Hail Mary, and the Ten Commandments regularly in sermons. Priests were formally allowed to marry, and the obedience of priests to bishops was upheld. No traditional ceremonies or liturgical activities were abolished. A decision was made to reduce the number of holy days by eliminating those honoring martyrs and non-patron saints.[47] Johannes Messenius in his chronicle of Finland's history mentions that canons of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku and rural priests opposed Skytte's introduction of the decisions of the Örebro council. He does not mention any names or give any other specific information to support his claim. The sources do not independently corroborate his statement. Messenius's Catholic partisanship demands consideration when evaluating such a vague and uncorroborated claim. Moreover, it is difficult to see how even the most unbending opponent of reform could oppose all of the council's decisions.[48]

The question of holy days raises larger issues about the process of the reform in three ways. First, it demonstrates the frequent intersection of royal and Lutheran reform. Lutheran-minded reformers wanted to reduce holy days in the spirit of reducing medieval Catholicism's emphasis on works. For his part, Gustav wanted the number of holy days reduced as a means of improving economic productivity and thus tax revenues. Second, the early Reformation of the church consisted of measures that a broad segment of the clergy could accept regardless of theological orientation. Even before Gustav's reign, there

46 Lars-Olof Larsson, *Gustav Vasa—Landsfader eller tyrann?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), 137.

47 *SRA*, vol. 1, 117–122; Andren, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 59–64. Göran Malmstedt, *Heldagsreduktionen: Övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800* (Göteborg: Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, 1994), 59–60.

48 Johannes Messenius, *Suomen riimikronikka*, ed. Harry Lönnroth and Martti Linna (Helsinki: SKS, 2004), 103–104.

was widespread support among the clergy for the reduction of holy days.[49] Third, the question of holy days underscores the reluctance of the population at large to accept change. For its part, the larger populace wanted to keep its free days for reasons of tradition and comfort. The new regimen of holy days was poorly enforced for years. Like many issues in the Swedish kingdom's church, the question of holy days would not be fully resolved until after Gustav's reign.[50] The Örebro meeting did not address theological questions, such as the sacraments, soteriology, the Eucharist, or any of the questions that were vexing Protestants in central Europe. It set a pattern for future church councils in that it strove for Reformation by the lowest common denominator.

The First Steps Toward a Vernacular Church

During Gustav Vasa's reign, most of the reforming energy in the Swedish kingdom's church lay in putting as much of scripture, liturgy, and prayer into the vernacular as possible. In 1530 the Stockholm City Council decided to hold Mass regularly in Swedish. In the following year, Olaus Petri published a new Lutheran-influenced Swedish Mass.[51] In 1536 the church council of Uppsala decreed that the Mass should be in Swedish where possible. Olaus Petri's handbook, first published in 1529, was decreed for use in the performance of sacraments and rituals. The council formally abolished priestly celibacy and abolished mendicant monasteries.[52] According to Paulus Juusten already in 1534 the sexton Laurentius Canuti performed the first Mass in Swedish in Turku Cathedral, although likely parts of the Mass or forms of a low Mass were performed in Swedish even earlier.[53]

These measures taken to advance the use of Swedish did not exclude or hinder the development of Finnish as a liturgical language. In 1533 Stockholm's Finnish speakers started regular services in their own language. At first,

49 Malmstedt, *Heldagsreduktionen*, 59–61.

50 Olav Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1946), 310–318.

51 Christer Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska: Den reformatoriska mässan i Sverige mot den senmedeltiden bakgrunden* (Lund: Arcus förlag, 1998), 239–241; Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, 132–33.

52 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 79.

53 K. G. Leinberg, ed., "Företalet till P. Jwstens Postilla," *Historiallinen arkisto* 19 (1905): 268; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 82.

Finnish speakers probably attended Mass in Swedish and or Latin at the city church, and then went to listen to a Finnish sermon at the Dominican convent's church.[54] The establishment of a Finnish congregation in Stockholm suggests the strength of the overall movement to increase the use the vernacular in religious services in the Swedish kingdom. Unlike the Swedish- or German-speaking community in Stockholm, the Finnish-speaking community had no known preexisting organization for religious activity in Finnish. The overwhelming majority of Finnish speakers in Stockholm at the time was probably so fluent in Swedish that it could have easily remained invisible within the Swedish-speaking congregation of the Stockholm City Church. To create a Finnish congregation, Finnish speakers had to overcome both the discomfort of no Finnish-language ecclesiastical infrastructure and the comfort likely that they likely felt in the Swedish-speaking community.

Inside the Diocese of Turku, during the 1530s attempts were made to translate liturgy and scripture into Finnish. The best known of these efforts were those by Mikael Agricola.[55] Four surviving manuscripts preceded the publication of Agricola's own work in the 1540s. One of the manuscripts is a very fragmentary translation of the Gospels; the other three are translations of the Mass with Olaus Petri's Mass as the probable basis of translation. The most complete and comprehensive of these is the Westh Codex. This codex is named after one of its owners, Matthias Westh (d. 1549). Westh is considered the first preacher for the Finnish congregation in 1533, later moving on to become a chaplain and school rector in Rauma. Westh was one of the owners of the codex, and it is believed that he was one of the authors if not the only author of it.[56] The process of vernacularization would take decades after the 1530s. Even where the liturgy was conducted in Swedish or Finnish, Latin was still used for parts of the Mass for decades, as it was in other parts of Lutheran Europe.

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54 Jyrki Knuutila, "Tukholman seurakunnan 'messukirja' ja jumalanpalveluselämän muuttaminen evankeliseksi 1500-luvulla," in *Facultas ludendi: Erkki Tuppuraisen juhlakirja: Erkki Tuppuraiselle hänen 65-vuotissyntymäpäivänään 15. marraskuuta 2010*, ed. Jorma Hannikainen (Kuopio: Sibelius-Akatemia, Kuopion osasto, 2010), 100–101; Lauri Pihlajamaa, "Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan ensimmäinen saarnaaja: Mathias Westh?" *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 100 (2010): 71–92; Lauri Pihlajamaa, "Raamatunlauseet sielun lääkkeessä." in *Tutkimuksia Westhin koodeksista*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2012), 93–116.

55 A. I . Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 153–156.

56 Kaisa Häkkinen, "Westhin koodeksin suhde Mikael Agricolan teoksiin," in *Tutkimuksia Westhin koodeksista*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2012), 43–92; Knuutila, "Tukholman seurakunnan," 79–113.

The Wittenberg Flock

The sources do not give a detailed picture of Martinus Skytte's role in facilitating reform in his diocese. One aspect in which the sources suggest a role is in the resuscitation of the diocese's medieval tradition of sending young promising clergymen to central Europe for higher education. Between 1518 and 1530, nobody from the Diocese of Turku went abroad for higher education. During this same time, only two students returned to Finland from studying in central European universities, Petrus Särkilahti and Jasparus Johannis. While both were exposed to Lutheran and Erasmian reform ideas in central Europe, the few extant sources suggest that any reforming activities by these two men in Finland were very limited in scope and impact.[57] This drop in university attendance during the 1520s follows a larger decline in university attendance at the German universities, such as Wittenberg, that had been attracting Finnish students. The outbreak of the Reformation in Germany led to a growth of anti-intellectualism in the areas where radical Lutheran reformers, such as Andreas Karlstadt, had created a following. Although by the end of the 1520s Luther, Melanchthon, and others had managed to wrest their movement out of the hands of anti-intellectuals, not until the 1540s did Wittenberg reach the enrollment levels preceding the 1520s.[58] The events in Germany likely discouraged young men abroad to make the journey into a turbulent situation. Then, as the Diocese of Turku began to lose its sources of wealth starting in the later part of the 1520s, there were fewer funds around for those who were willing to take the risk. No evidence suggests that the Dominican Skytte was in any way forced to send students to Wittenberg by the king or anyone else. The bishop's decision to support study in Wittenberg likely was the path of least resistance to replenish a badly depleted pool of educated leaders for the diocese. Wittenberg already had become the university of choice for students elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom.[59]

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57 Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, 64–65; Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1997), 116–134.

58 Franz Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1904), 52–64; Arno Seifert, "Das höhrere Schulwesen: Universitäten und Gymnasien," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Von der Renaissance und der Reformation bis zum Ende der Glaubenskämpfe*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and August Buck (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1996), 256–258.

59 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka,* 56–57; Christian Callmer, *Svenska studenter i Wittenberg*, Skrifter utgivna av personhistoriska samfundet 17 (1976) 1–19; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, 150–180.

The biggest barrier to sending Finns to university was financial. For centuries, the diocese provided most of the financing for foreign study. King Gustav decreed payment of the diocese's annual payment to the king in part from its income in butter. The diocese had used that income for paying the expenses of students going abroad.[60] The loss of income had to be made up from elsewhere. Paulus Juusten stated that Skytte provided some of his own funds to underwrite foreign study.[61] The diocese had to receive permission from the king to use its prebends for educational purposes. In 1535 the diocese with the king's permission granted the income from the St. Sigfrid prebend for Martinus Teit "so that he can travel to Germany and study and improve himself in the Word of God."[62] Not all were as successful in gaining support from the king. Mikael Agricola in 1537 and 1538 asked the king for financial support. In 1538, Nicolaus Magni, a Swedish member of the Wittenberg faculty and one of Gustav's key agents in Germany, sent the king his own request for support for Agricola. No record exists concerning the king's response to any of these requests.[63]

The first two students to leave the diocese for Wittenberg were Thomas Francisci Keijoi and Canutus Johannis in 1531. In the next year, Simon Henrici left for Wittenberg. Keijoi was the first to return in 1535. Following tradition, he was named rector of the Cathedral School in Turku. In 1536, two other students left for Wittenberg, Martinus Teit and Mikael Agricola. While studying there, Agricola continued his work in translation of the scriptures into Finnish. It is widely believed that he received help from fellow Finns there. When both men returned in 1539, Agricola took over for Keijoi at the Cathedral School and Keijoi returned to Wittenberg to continue his studies.[64] The first seven who left for Wittenberg studied under Martin Luther. One of the seven, the chronicler Paulus Juusten, listened to lectures by "Doctor Martin [Luther], [Johannes Bugenhagen] Pomeranus, Philippus [Melanchthon], [Caspar] Cruciger, [Georg] Major, Paul Eber, Erasmus Reinhold, and [Matthias] Flacius."[65]

60 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, 159.

61 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka,* 56–57.

62 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 10 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 281.

63 *HFH*, vol. 6, 153–156, 461–463; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, 159, 162–163.

64 *HFH*, vol. 6, 153–156, 461–463; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, 159, 162–163. Nuorteva points out that another student from the diocese, one Sigfridius Nicolai, started his studies in Wittenberg in 1531. Juusten's chronicle does not count him among the Finns who studied there. In this and subsequent secondary scholarship he is often not counted as one of the Finns who studied at Wittenberg. He appears to have left Finland for other parts of the Swedish kingdom before 1531. He matriculated at Wittenberg with a group of students from the Diocese of Skara and returned there after completing his studies in 1534.

65 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 64–65.

TABLE 3 *Finnish Students of Luther*[67]

	In Wittenberg	Highest Position	Died
1. Canutus Johannis	1531–1536	Bishop of Vyborg	1564
2. Thomas Francisci Keijoi	1531–1538, 1539–1543	Vicar of Hämeenkyrö	1546
3. Simon Henrici	1532–1541	Instructor at Wittenberg University	1545
4. Mikael Agricola	1536–1539	Bishop of Turku	1557
5. Martinus Teit	1536–1539	Teacher at Royal Swedish Court	1544
6. Paulus Juusten	1543–1547	Bishop of Turku	1575
7. Lars Frese	1543–1547	Military Chaplain circa	1580

In the years between Luther's death in 1546 and Gustav Vasa's death in 1560, five more students from Finland started their studies. The most notable of these students were Ericus Härkäpää, who studied at Wittenberg 1549–1551 and later became bishop of Vyborg in 1568. These new students established a pattern of students from Finland by studying at another university in Germany in addition to studying in Wittenberg. Most, such as Härkäpää, studied in Rostock, contributing to the university's importance to the Swedish kingdom's church after Gustav Vasa's reign.[66]

The "Wittenberg flock" as Juusten called his fellow students, returned to Finland and reinforced Skytte's pragmatic and practical approach to reform. These clergymen primarily concerned themselves with very practical aspects of reform, above all, putting the Word of God and liturgy into the vernacular languages of the diocese, Finnish and Swedish. In the extant scholarship, this practical approach to reform has been ascribed to the theological conservatism of Finland's clergy and or the influence of Philipp Melanchthon on the Finns in Wittenberg.[68] One should consider additionally that these first Wittenberg-educated clergymen were saddled with heavy administrative, pastoral, and

66 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, 492.

67 Chart by Tuija Laine for exhibition *Luther, Reformation, and the Book*, Helsinki University Library, summer 2012.

68 For example, Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen muurroksessa*, 169.

educational duties after completing their education. For example, in the early 1540s Mikael Agricola at the king's command was making an inventory of clerical income in the diocese, at a time when he was teaching young students in Turku and making Finnish a literary language. These Wittenberg reformers chose to focus their limited remaining resources of time and energy on practical and applied aspects of reform. There were not many of these Wittenberg-educated clergy either. During Skytte's tenure, only twelve were sent, and not all of them came back to Finland. Some served in Finland for a limited period.

By the 1540s, a new corps of Lutheran-trained leaders led the process of reform in the Diocese of Turku. Perhaps out of loyalty or their own careful approach to reform, these new reformers saw no reason to remove the old bishop from office. Paulus Juusten wrote in his chronicle "during this time of Bishop Martinus papal power collapsed all over Finland, private and corner Masses were abolished, holy water ended as did the blessing of ash and palms. The church music was changed and corrected. The sexton Laurentius Canuti from Sarvilahti performed the first Swedish-language Mass in Turku Cathedral. After this, everyone was bound to perform it in the same way by order of the king in 1538 (if I remember correctly). Around 1540 there was no more papal oil and chrisma."[69]

Gustav Vasa, the Germans, and the Bishops

For most of the 1530s, Gustav Vasa struggled to find an administrative model for the church that reduced or even eliminated the authority of bishops. The king's struggle was compounded by his inability to develop and keep qualified administrators who could form an alternative ecclesiastical administration. His neglect of the kingdom's already rudimentary educational system had depleted the pool of domestic talent. Sweden did not attract much foreign talent either. In August 1538, Gustav secured the services of Conrad von Pyhy as his chancellor. Pyhy had a resume that would have impressed any European monarch. He came from the renowned Peutinger family of Augsburg. He had served both Emperor Charles V and his brother, King Ferdinand, in military, diplomatic, and administrative duties. He had demonstrated indifference to religious questions, an obvious plus for King Gustav. Pyhy was well acquainted with the German model of *landesherrliches Kirchenregiment* or the prince's church. A year later in August 1539, another German, Georg Norman, arrived in

69 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 58. Writing in the 1570s, Juusten remembered wrong. The year was 1536.

Sweden. A teacher at the University of Greifswald, Norman had studied under Martin Luther in Wittenberg. Luther recommended him to Gustav Vasa as a tutor to Crown Prince Eric and as someone who could revive higher education in the kingdom. In the same letter, Luther recommended to the king Norman's travel companion and recent Wittenberg graduate, Mikael Agricola.[70] Michael Roberts has described both Pyhy and Norman as bringing to the Swedish Kingdom "an approach to the problems of church and state which was clear-cut, logical, free from the moderating influence and tradition, unhampered by any respect for local prejudices or feeling for national peculiarities, and inimical, therefore, to the half-measures which so far characterized the Swedish Reformation."[71]

In August of 1539, Pyhy presided over a church council in Uppsala called by Archbishop Laurentius Petri in which the archbishop sought the creation of a church ordinance. The meeting revealed the deep divisions within the church's leadership. The bishops Jonas Boethii of Växjö and Sveno Jacobi of Skara wanted to avoid any solution that would eliminate the last possibility of a rapprochement with Rome. Laurentius Andreae and Olaus Petri wanted a more explicit Lutheran program. Both groups opposed Pyhy's proposal for a greater royal supremacy over the church. Archbishop Laurentius Petri failed to achieve a solution that would blunt Pyhy's more extreme ideas of royal supremacy and seek a compromise between the doctrinal differences.[72]

Gustav responded with his own reorganization of the church in December 1539. In keeping with his reluctance to become involved in doctrinal questions, it focused on administration. He created the office of *superattendent* and appointed Georg Norman to it. He would run the church on the king's behalf, with the power to hire and fire clergy. To each diocese would be appointed two seniors, who would supervise local administration and maintain church discipline. The seniors would be assisted by a lay *conservator*. These *conservators* from all over the kingdom would constitute a church council that with the *superattendent* would decide on questions concerning the church. This administrative solution was based on that of the Lutheran church in the German duchy of Glogau.[73]

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70 *KGR*, vol. 12, 294–295. Philipp Melanchthon later recommended Norman to Gustav in a letter dated 15 May 1539. Kungl. samfundet för utgifvande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, ed., *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia,* vol. 4 (Elméns och Granbergs tryckeri, 1817), 44–47.

71 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 113–114.

72 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 116.

73 Roberts, *Early Vasas,* 116–117.

The king then went after his opponents. He convened a *herredag* at Örebro in late December 1539 and charged both Laurentius Andreae and Olaus Petri with high treason. The subsequent show trial condemned both men to death, but recommended to the king a more lenient sentence. This must have been a relief to Archbishop Laurentius Petri, who was forced by the king to sit in judgment over his brother, Olaus. The king, having achieved his goal of marginalizing these opponents, commuted their sentences to fines. Gustav then issued a decree in January 1540 calling on the church to reform its doctrine and ceremonies along Lutheran lines. Considering that the king had just prosecuted the most ardent Lutherans, his actions might appear contradictory. At stake for the king in 1539 was not dogma or doctrine, but rather his power over the church. Gustav Vasa saw Laurentius Andreae and Olaus Petri as threats not because of their Lutheran views, but rather because they were concerned about Gustav's future drive to expand royal supremacy over the church. Once he dealt with these opponents, the king could embrace Lutheran reform as a useful tool for his wider agenda of royal supremacy and eliminating any final possibility of a rapprochement with Rome.[74] The development toward a more Lutheran church continued in 1541 with the publication of the full Swedish Bible in 1541. In the same year, Georg Norman had completed a draft of a new church order, *Articuli ordinantiae,* which was heavily influenced by Melanchthon. This attempt at a church order, like previous ones, would fail to become normative as Norman's reforming work ran quickly run into opposition.[75]

For tumultuous as the events of 1538–1541 were, they had little immediate if ultimately any discernable impact on the Diocese of Turku. Diocesan officials did not participate in the meetings.[76] Seniors and conservators were not appointed to the diocese. Finland's diocesan administrative structure remained unchanged. This reluctance to apply the new royal administrative model to Finland likely stemmed from two factors. One was the confidence that Gustav had in Skytte and officials in Finland to implement his will regardless of structure. Second, Gustav temporized in implementing his plan. He probably encountered difficulties in finding suitable candidates for these new offices in some parts of the kingdom. By 1542 his attentions were diverted to confronting the Dacke rebellion which erupted in part because of his changes in ecclesiastical and civil administration. By the time the plan was abandoned in 1543 it was only introduced in the dioceses of Skara and Linköping, and there only seniors

74 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 118–119.

75 Otto Ahnfelt, "Georg Normans kyrkoordning på svenska: Bidrag till svenska kyrkans historia i sextonde århundradet," *Lunds universitets årsskrift* 31 (1895): 12–19.

76 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 118.

and no intendants were appointed.[77] Pyhy fell from power in September 1543 in the aftermath of Dacke's rebellion. Many of Pyhy's administrative changes, such as the offices of *superattendent* and *conservator*, fell with him. Norman stayed on as Gustav's informal chancellor until his death in 1552, channeling royal supremacy into surviving medieval administrative structures.[78]

A New Wave of Exactions

At the *herredag* at Örebro in December 1539-January 1540, the king again asked for new income to meet the costs of defending the kingdom against foreign dangers. Even though Lübeck was now defeated, the overthrow of Wullenwever restored good relations between Emperor Charles V and Lübeck, thus reviving tensions between Sweden and Charles V over Christian II. After Christian II's imprisonment, the Holy Roman Emperor, in a move to keep his brother-in-law's claim alive, persuaded Count Palatine Frederick II to marry Christian's eldest daughter Dorothy in 1535. The Scandinavian monarchs countered by improving relations with their Protestant brethren in Germany. Denmark was able to insulate itself from the emperor by accepting an invitation to join the Schmakaldic League in 1536. Christian III wanted Sweden to join the league, but several factors kept Sweden out of the alliance. The main factor consisted of intrigues by a German soldier formerly in Gustav's service—Berend von Melen. Von Melen had served Gustav since the days of the king's rebellion against Christian II. Originally a soldier in Christian's forces, he defected to Gustav's side after losing to it in battle. In 1525, von Melen, fearing that he would be held responsible for a failed attack on Søren Norby, fled to Germany, where he resumed his ties with Christian II and found a new career serving Elector John of Saxony. Over the next years he engaged in a widespread propaganda campaign against Gustav Vasa among Germany's princes. At a meeting of the Schmalkaldic League in April 1538, Christian III proposed Swedish membership. Von Melen convinced the princes to reject Swedish membership. The outbreak of Dacke's rebellion in the same year increased Gustav's suspicions of possible foreign conspiracies against him.[79]

77 Sven-Erik Brodd, "Superintendenturen som ersättning för och komplement till biskopsämbetet i svenska kyrkan 1539–1631," in *Reformationens konsolidering i de nordiska länderna 1540–1610*, ed. Ingmar Brohed (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1990), 198–239.

78 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 137–139.

79 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 56, 110–111, 124–131, 145–151.

During this time though, Gustav succeeded in improving relations with Denmark. In 1541, the two sides signed the Brömsebro alliance. This agreement was a non-aggression pact, a mutual-defense arrangement, and, under certain conditions, an offensive alliance. The two sides resolved not to make separate deals with either Christian II or any members of his family. The Brömsebro alliance gave the Scandinavian kings some protection against Christian II and his allies. More security was provided in 1544, when the Danish king, facing a resurgent Charles V in northern Germany, concluded a peace with Charles V at Speyer. In a secret protocol of the treaty, Charles promised that he would not use force to enforce the deposed king's claims. Charles's concession revealed his real interests in Scandinavia: the Baltic commerce of his Dutch subjects and peace in northern Germany. Since Gustav, still mistrustful of both the Schmalkaldic League and Charles, chose not to participate in the Speyer settlement, the treaty's articles related only to Denmark. Swedish king finally signed the Treaty of Speyer in 1551.[80]

Appealing to the foreign danger, at the Örebro meeting Gustav received permission for three fiscal measures concerning the church. First, all dioceses were to make an account to the Crown of their existing sources of income. Second, the king would now receive two-thirds of the tithe that was going to local parishes. This measure ended Gustav's practice of taking ecclesiastical income by making individual agreements with bishops and pastors. Third, all members of the clergy had to pay a one-time head tax. While there was wishful thinking among the clergy that this head tax would help complete the publication of the Swedish-language Bible (published in 1541), Gustav's chancellor Konrad von Pyhy made it plain that the money was going to the general treasury.[81] The idea of the tax going to benefit the church prevailed in the Diocese of Turku. Cathedral Dean Johannes Petri informed Georg Norman that the diocese had sent its collected tax of three hundred Swedish marks "for the rebuilding of the schools in Uppsala." Petri probably meant Uppsala University, to whose resuscitation Gustav had committed himself at least publically.[82] Since the Crown

80 The Brömsebro treaty can be found in O.S. Rydberg, ed., *Sverges traktater med främmande magter jemte andra dithörande handlingar*, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1888), 207–224. A thorough examination of the treaty is Georg Landberg, *De nordiska rikena under Brömsebroförbundet* (Uppsala: Wretman, 1925). See also Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 145–151.

81 *SRA*, vol. 1, 248; Sven Kjöllerström, *Tillkomsten av 1541 års bibel*, Lunds universitets årsskrift, n.s. avd. 1, vol. 37, no. 4 (Lund: Gleerup, 1941), 10–14; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 120; Ivan Svalenius, "Georg Norman," in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/8390 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

82 Hausen, *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vol. 3, 122.

seems to have done nothing to mislead the clergy as to the real purpose of the tax one can wonder if the clergy was suffering from a case of wishful thinking.

In 1540, Georg Norman made a visitation to the provinces of Västergötland and Östergötland. In the provinces, he made a register of the church's revenue and confiscated precious metals. After this visitation, most churches were left with only a chalice and a paten. In 1541, as Norman left for a diplomatic mission to France, Bishop Henricus of Västerås continued the process of inventory and confiscation into Småland. Henricus's confiscation was at least as thorough. It is estimated that eight-five percent of the precious metals held by the church in Småland were confiscated. The heavy parchment covers of manuscripts in libraries were taken for use as covers for royal accounts. Capes and altar-frontals were cut for clothing for the queen and her children. The actions of Bishop Henricus again underscore the widespread collaboration of the clergy with the king's policy of confiscating property. By the 1540s, Småland probably had the strongest Catholic sentiment of any area in the Swedish kingdom. This sentiment opposed the takeover of wealth and contributed to the outbreak of Dacke's rebellion in 1542.[83]

With the events of 1538–1540, a decade of atomized, individual, divergent, but coexisting approaches to reform ended. The church would now pursue reform more along Lutheran lines with a continued emphasis on practical reform, such as putting the Word of God in the vernacular. The church would recognize royal supremacy, but the king had to channel that supremacy through the episcopal structure that he failed to destroy. In the final analysis, the king now had greater latitude to create a royal church. The king used this latitude to deepen royal reform and expand it to parts of the kingdom that had received less attention during the 1520s and 1530s, such as the Diocese of Turku.

83 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 131–132.

CHAPTER 4

The Creation of a Royal Church

In his book on the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Kauko Pirinen asserts "his [Gustav Vasa's] attitude to the introduction of the Reformation was dictated by interests of state, when on the other hand the leaders of the Reformation demonstrated the same desire for independence as the previous Catholic hierarchy."[1] This widespread tendency, especially among church historians, to see the church in opposition to the king runs counter to several facts. With the failed exceptions of the meetings in Uppsala and Örebro in 1539–40, at no other point did a critical mass of the church's leadership attempt to organize itself to rebuff the king's attempts to increase his control of the church's wealth and administration. The church in 1540 was decidedly a more royal institution than it had been in 1523. In a legal culture in which precedent and custom had considerable weight, Gustav's achievements by 1540 would serve as precedent for subsequent actions. Beyond the clergy, manifestations of opposition to the king's measures were isolated. Some parts of the realm experienced armed revolts. Others, such as the Diocese of Turku, did not witness any substantial organized peaceful resistance. Opponents to Gustav's royal reform lacked a unifying alternative program. The atmosphere of the 1520s and 1530s that had encouraged tolerant and diverse visions of the church's future enabled Gustav to impose his will. The Lutheran-minded clergy recognized that the king's statebuilding work was creating an atmosphere for advancing its theological reform of the church. Moreover, nothing in Lutheran reform encouraged the clergy to oppose the king. To the contrary, Luther himself had accepted a role for temporal rulers in the church's leadership.[2]

Widespread and principled collaboration, as well as occasional specific and pragmatic resistance, marked the clergy's approach to Gustav Vasa's takeover of the Diocese of Turku's wealth and administration after 1540. Bishop Skytte continued to abide Gustav's royal reform as he had done since becoming bishop in 1528. The leading reformer of the Diocese of Turku after 1540, Mikael Agricola, saw collaboration with the Crown's statebuilding agenda as key to

1 Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 118.

2 Martin Luther, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate," in *Luther's Works*, ed. James Atkinson and Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 44, *The Christian in Society I* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 115–121.

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his goal of reforming the church's teaching and practices. Gustav encouraged collaboration by cultivating direct ties between him and individual parishes, bypassing diocesan authority.

Mikael Agricola and His Account Book

Mikael Agricola's first known completed manuscript was not a work of religious literature, but rather an accounting of the Diocese of Turku's income and wealth. More specifically, it lists the income of the chapter's prelates, canons, and prebends as of 27 March 1542. It includes an accounting of tax income from 1540 and part of 1541, as well as income from prebends from 1541. At the time when Agricola composed this account, he served as a member of the diocese's cathedral chapter and rector of the Cathedral School in Turku. Like all of the leading reformers of the Swedish kingdom's church, Agricola was saddled with administrative duties for most of his career as a clergyman.

For historians, Agricola's account book holds significance for two reasons. First, this account book includes the earliest known list of parishes in the Diocese of Turku. For many parishes the first written mention of their existence appears in this book. Second, the book reveals some of the remaining ecclesiastical wealth in the diocese after a decade and a half of confiscations by King Gustav Vasa.

In 2007, Agricola's account book was published as a critical edition. One of the edition's editors, Jyrki Knuutila, concludes that in making the account book, Agricola helped create the basis for the further economic decline of himself and the diocese he served.[3] The other editor, Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo, concludes from Agricola's shoddy and nonstandard accounting methods that he was either uninformed about accounting methods or he was reluctant to give the Crown all of the information it wanted.[4] This suggestion of possible passive resistance by Agricola is a careful one, but it serves as a reminder of the tendency to present Agricola, based on his work on behalf of the Finnish language, as an agent of Finnish national or political separateness from the Swedish Crown. Generations of historians of Finland have emphasized the

3 Jyrki Knuutila, "Selvitys Turun tuomiokirkon ja sen papiston tuloista 1541–1542," in *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot 1541–1542*, ed. Jyrki Knuutila and Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 29.

4 Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo, "Mikael Agricolan veroluettelot," in *Turun tuomiokirkon ja papiston tulot*, 89.

oppositional character of the country's national heroes.[5] This tradition has encouraged historians to emphasize any possible situation in which Agricola might have opposed the Swedish king while at the same time ignoring the larger context of his cooperation with the Crown. In the case of the account book, the temptation to see Agricola as an oppositional figure must be weighed against other possible explanations for Agricola's inadequate bookkeeping. Agricola was not trained as a bookkeeper but rather as a humanist scholar. The diocese lacked trained administrative personnel. Agricola, as one of the newer members of the cathedral chapter, was stuck with this menial task. He likely lacked not only the knowledge, as Mäkelä-Alitalo suggests, but also the energy and focus to compose a proper account book. While working as the king's accountant, Agricola was translating the Word of God into Finnish and teaching students at the Cathedral School.

Any understanding of Agricola's actions must consider that he was not the only clergyman in the Swedish kingdom who helped Gustav in his takeover of church property. Since his rebellion against King Christian II, Gustav found much of the clergy willing to part with the church's wealth. By the time Agricola had written his account book, leading church officials in both writings and actions had justified the king's takeover of church property for almost twenty years. These contexts suggest that any weaknesses in Agricola's accounting stemmed more from a lack of accounting skill or a desire to focus on his literary work than any act of passive resistance.

Moreover, it did not serve Agricola's interests to anger the king by purposely composing a less than truthful accounting. The realization of his career ambitions rested on access to rather than opposition to power. Agricola sought royal subsidies for his translation projects. In March 1542, he sent a request to the royal treasury for reimbursement.[6] The sources do not reveal if Agricola ever received reimbursements. In order to publish his works he needed and gained access to the kingdom's only publishing house in Stockholm, which operated under royal supervision. Why would he risk betraying the king's trust?

Agricola had known Georg Norman, Gustav's ecclesiastical point man in the early 1540s, since his days as Norman's student in Wittenberg. Why would Agricola betray Norman's trust by writing a fraudulent account book? In

5 Piia Einonen, Antti Räihä, and Marko Tikka, "Kapinointi, separatismi ja vastarinnan legitimiteetti," in *Kansallisten instituutioiden muotoutuminen: Suomalainen historiakuva Oma Maa-kirjasarjassa 1900–1960*, ed. Petri Karonen and Antti Räihä (Helsinki: SKS, 2014), 305–333.

6 Agricola's letter to royal treasury 27 March 1542, in Viljo Tarkiainen and Kari Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola: Suomen uskonpuhdistaja* (Helsinki: Otava, 1985), 305–306.

December 1543, Agricola requested from Georg Norman additional financial help to defray the costs of translating the New Testament. In the letter, Agricola demonstrated his understanding of the relationship between statebuilding and Lutheran reform. Agricola appealed to Norman to "use his exhortation, advice, and influence with the help of Christ's spirit to persuade the very gracious king to allow for the divine and very sound New Testament to see the light of day for the salvation of thousands of souls and the spread of the glory of God. And that for the easing of the completion of this work he would benevolently agree to grant me some middling vacant prebend here in Turku or then the property in the testament that I currently hold."[7] Agricola was referring to the testament of the recently deceased Archdeacon Petrus Sild, who according to Agricola had bequeathed his property to the church. Agricola mentioned that the nobleman and Council of the Realm member Erik Fleming intended to lobby for more financial support for Agricola at the upcoming *riksdag* at Västerås scheduled to start in January 1544.[8] Agricola understood that the church could not itself fully fund projects key to Lutheran reform: he had to seek support from the Crown, as futile as that pursuit might prove.

Agricola used a historical analogy to buttress his argument to Norman. "In great decisions and in dangers to realms," Agricola wrote, "it is known that peoples in order to satisfy their gods used hecatombs or even human sacrifices. I am certain, that if this New Testament is given as a sacrifice to Him, it would provide the sweetest and most hospitable scent compared to numerous other sacrifices."[9] This was a curious statement for a Lutheran reformer to make. At its most basic level, Lutheran reform repudiated the efficacy of works for salvation. It did not call for the translation of God's Word as a sacrifice to God, but rather as a means of passing the gift of God's message to others. One wonders how the former teacher at Wittenberg reacted to Agricola's statement. Agricola moreover argued that the advancement of Lutheran reform would strengthen the state by asking "what else beautifies righteous and Christian authority than the knowledge of Christ as well as the heavenly and earthly success of subjects?"[10] Such a use of scripture for a temporal political agenda would have certainly rankled Luther and his colleagues in Wittenberg. Agricola's Lutheran heresies probably reflect more his desperation to make a persuasive argument to the king than his own real theological views.

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7 Agricola's letter to Georg Norman 2 Dec. 1543, in Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 306–311.

8 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 306–311.

9 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 306–311.

10 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 306–311.

A New Round of Confiscations

With Agricola's account book in hand, Gustav Vasa renewed his confiscations of the diocese's wealth. During the 1540s and 1550s, he phased out the system by which he gained much of his income from the church through individual agreements with the dioceses. Instead, the king assumed direct collection of ecclesiastical imposts. The elimination of the church as an intermediary corresponded with the growth of the Crown's administration and in particular the establishment of a permanent network of bailiffs that collected the church's taxes. The king's takeover of ecclesiastical land holdings gained new speed. Like most of his other statebuilding initiatives, Gustav Vasa applied this measure unevenly and over a long period.[11]

In 1547 the first significant confiscation of silver occurred in the Diocese of Turku since the 1530s. The Västerås *riksdag* in 1544 forbade the use of monstrances, holy water, salt, and incense. As a result, this Lutheran reform of the Mass made the church's gilded receptacles for these liturgical materials no longer necessary and thus easy for the Crown to take.[12] In August of 1547, the king's commander at the fortress of Kastelholm, Torsten Henriksson, received a receipt from the royal treasury for the church silver that he confiscated for the Crown in the Åland Islands. All of the articles confiscated were monstrances. In the same month, Gustav Vasa's stadtholder in Turku, Thomas Jönsson, received from the king a receipt for nineteen Rhenish gulden, five small holy water basins, and a silver cup. This collection of silver apparently came from Mikael Agricola, who in turn "gave it to us [the treasury] after a student's death."[13] The student is unidentified, but a student possessing such wealth is indeed curious if all of the items inventoried indeed came from a student. In comparison to 1543, Agricola did not claim the bequest for his literary efforts. He just handed the assets over to the king.

The Crown was not only interested in silver and gold, but copper as well. In 1544 copper bells were taken from churches in the Åland Islands. The emphasis on taking precious metals from Åland as opposed to the rest of Finland

11 Hannu Välimäki, *Kymmenyksistä kirkollisveroon: Kirkollisverotus Suomen evankelisluterilaisessa kirkossa reformaatiosta nykypäivään* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2002), 65–69.

12 A. I . Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 265–266.

13 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 18 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1900), 709–710; Olle Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver under Gustav Vasa," *Forvännen* 35 (1940): 213.

in the 1540s suggests that the king, who was careful with his economic assets, might have been more reluctant to confiscate precious metals from continental Finland's churches out of concern toward the more difficult transportation conditions. Some parishes in the Åland islands, such as Lemland, were only marginally closer to Turku than to Stockholm.[14]

The king sought the diocese's young trained labor. In October 1544, Gustav asked Agricola to hand over "two or three" of his school's students to work for him. The king's letter suggests that the king had already once made a formal request for students.[15] Agricola apparently did not respond to this second request to the king's satisfaction. In June 1545, the king then informed Agricola that he was going to send one of his couriers to select "three or four" students from his school. The outcome of the courier's visit is unknown, but Agricola probably would have had difficulties in ignoring the visit of the king's representative and the renewed request behind it.[16]

This episode holds a fixed place in the historical narrative concerning Agricola. Kauko Pirinen suggests that the conflict was a significant factor in Gustav Vasa's decision to relieve Agricola of his rectorship in 1548.[17] The emphasis on portraying Agricola as an oppositional figure has ignored larger circumstances around the event and its aftermath. Agricola stayed in his position until 1548, some three years after his conflict with the king. Gustav had no problem removing anyone immediately from temporal or ecclesiastical administration who slighted him in the least. After Agricola's return to Finland in 1539, the next university student to return was Paulus Juusten in 1548. As the most recent returnee from university, Juusten took the position from Agricola in keeping with medieval tradition. In his own chronicle, Juusten wrote that Agricola did not want to give up the position, but he does not state that Agricola had fallen into the king's bad graces.[18] The incident clearly did not damage the king's trust in Agricola over the long term, if at all. After removing Agricola from the rectorship in 1548, Gustav Vasa promoted Agricola to informal coadjutor to the

14 Reinhold Hausen, ed. *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vol. 3, *Spridda urkunder från tiden 1531–1560* (Helsinki: J. Simelii Arfvingars tryckeri, 1904), 153.

15 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1854), 134–135.

16 *HFH*, vol. 7, 134–135; Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 22; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 159; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 81–82.

17 Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, 108–109; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 159; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 81–82.

18 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 59.

aging Bishop Martinus Skytte.[19] In 1550 when Skytte died, Agricola became the unofficial bishop of Turku until his formal consecration in 1554. Such a career path is difficult to imagine for someone who had run afoul of the king.

The incident does suggest that while Agricola facilitated royal reform, his collaboration did have limits, such as in the case of the death of Cathedral Dean Johannes Petri in June 1547. Gustav reacted to Petri's death as he had in respect to previous deaths of cathedral chapter members: he left the position unfilled and confiscated the prebends associated with it. In this case, Gustav took an addition step and began to confiscate lands and tax revenues that supported the living members of the chapter, including Agricola, as well as Bishop Skytte. Agricola responded by appealing to Gustav's councilor Nils Bielke to reduce the planned confiscations. Reacting to Agricola's appeal, Gustav commanded his bailiff to maintain current levels of "maintenance" to chapter members.[20]

Agricola's resistance does not invalidate his and the clergy's overall tendency to cooperate with the king. Any organized opposition to the king by the 1540s would confront two widely held principles among the clergy. The first was that ecclesiastical property belonged to the people. The king by the 1540s had established himself as the leader of the people in a way no other Swedish monarch had managed previously. The king had established an effective and legitimate claim to leadership over the property that the church considered as belonging to the people. The second principle, one not clearly articulated in the discourse of the Swedish kingdom's clergy but one that was probably the most explicit assumption of all attempts to reform Western Christianity, was that the church's excessive wealth hindered the church's mission of saving souls. Any opposition to the confiscation to property was tied to other concerns, such as the ability of the church to function in its mission of spreading the Word of God or personal economic survival. The acceptance of royal confiscation of ecclesiastical property was not a function of defeatism but rather a positive exercise of a new understanding of the church and its role in society.

The Decline of the Cathedral Chapter

The attempt by the king, Konrad von Pyhy, and Georg Norman to replace the medieval episcopal structure quickly proved a failure. No strong evidence

19 *HFH*, vol. 7, 234–235.

20 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 142–150.

points to one reason for the plan's failure. The extant scholarship suggests that the outbreak of the Dacke rebellion in 1542 and the fall of von Pyhy in 1543 ended the initiative, but these events do not explain Gustav's inaction for the two years after the Örebro meeting.[21] The king might have had difficulties finding qualified and reliable clergymen and laypersons for the new positions. The king might have concluded that the new structure was not worth the effort. The old episcopal structure proved more pliable to royal power than the king might have cared to admit.

In the case of Martinus Skytte, King Gustav actually went to some lengths to keep a bishop in office. In 1545, citing advanced age and weak health, Skytte submitted his resignation to Gustav Vasa. The king in April 1545 responded by accepting the resignation, but then the matter remained unresolved as Gustav wanted a full accounting of the remaining lands held by the bishop before letting the bishop go. The accounting dragged on, and so did Skytte.[22] In comparison to his actions concerning other bishops, Gustav proved exceptionally hesitant when the opportunity presented itself to remove Skytte. The bishop had never opposed the king nor did the king ever see him as a threat. Gustav might have considered Skytte a useful counterweight to the young and ambitious diocesan leaders who had returned from Wittenberg. A weak bishop served his overall goal of weakening the medieval episcopal structure. Skytte would die in office in 1550.

While keeping the church's episcopal structure, the king had managed to gut the real source of medieval diocesan self-governance—the cathedral chapter. This development has been noted for all seven dioceses, but has only been comprehensively examined in respect to Turku.[23] At the beginning of Gustav's reign, the chapter had twelve members. Over the course of the 1530s, the membership declined to eight. To eliminate the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Gustav applied his favorite tactic of attrition. Members of the chapter who died or moved to other positions were not replaced. King Gustav confiscated the prebends tied to that office.[24] When Bishop Martinus Skytte died in 1550,

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21 See pp. 93–96. Sven-Erik Brodd, "Superintendenturen som ersättning för och komplement till biskopsämbetet i svenska kyrkan 1539–1631," in *Reformationens konsolidering i de nordiska länderna 1540–1610*, ed. Ingemar Brohed (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1990), 198–239.

22 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 17 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1896), 242–243; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 138.

23 Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933), 318–321.

24 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 132–141; Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1, *Keskiaika ja uskonpuhdistuksen aika* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 281.

only four members of the chapter remained.[25] Paulus Juusten in his chronicle devotes significant space to the deaths of the chapter's members, suggesting the chapter's importance to Juusten and his contemporaries:

> When finally the canons and holders of prebends had died, no one succeeded them in office, but rather the lands and incomes [from these offices] were taken by the Crown. So the office of archdeacon was eliminated when Master Petrus Sild passed away in the year of the Lord 20 June 1542. The canonate of St. John was eliminated when Lord Andreas died, the canonate of Peter and Paul when Jakobus Blome died, as well as the Priest's altar after the death of Henricus Graculus. In the same way went the prebends of the Three Kings, St. George, and lastly St. Anne, when their holder Arvidus Nickolausson died in the year 1544. Cathedral Dean Master Johannes, a much-respected person, left his position when he died in the year of the Lord 3 June 1547. A bit earlier, in the year of the Lord 1545 Simon Henrici of Vyborg died, a very learned man in the humanities and a successful scholar of theology. At the same time, Master Martinus Teit died, who taught young princes in Stockholm. Master Thomas Franscici died also in 1546. In the same year, esteemed Father Doctor Martin Luther died in Eisleben on 18 April.[26]

With natural attrition, younger members of the chapter assumed new and more demanding tasks without the commensurate promotions of title and increases of income. When Cathedral Dean Johannes Petri died in 1547, the sole remaining prelate was Deacon Petrus Ragvaldi. The other three were low-level canons--head of the Cathedral School Mikael Agricola, Vicar of Turku Parish Canutus Johannis, and recent returnee from Wittenberg, Paulus Juusten. According to medieval tradition, Petrus Ragvaldi, as the most senior member of the chapter, would have risen to lead the chapter. Then again, medieval tradition dictated that the chapter's open eight positions would have been filled. Instead, the leadership of the chapter fell to Mikael Agricola in 1548. At the same time, he became the bishop's unofficial coadjutor. The king's reassignment of tasks demonstrates the chapter's total loss of administrative autonomy. It no longer functioned as a self-governing collegial body, but rather a collection of clergymen that fulfilled assignments given by the king. The chapter's power to select the bishop clearly ended in 1550 with Skytte's death. Gustav Vasa left the position open until 1554, leaving Canon Agricola to perform all episcopal duties.

25 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa,* 132–141.

26 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 57.

The king's choice of Agricola over the more senior Ragvaldi most likely had nothing to do with Ragvaldi's standing with the king. Petrus Ragvaldi was well taken care of by the king until his death in 1567. After Gustav formally abolished the cathedral chapter in 1554, he named Ragvaldi vicar of Kemiö near Turku, a prime pastoral appointment. Kauko Pirinen suggests that concerns about Ragvaldi's health might have prevented Gustav from appointing him. No sources support this suggestion. A more powerful explanation might be that Ragvaldi appears not to have attended university. Although the king did not particularly appreciate higher learning, he might have concluded that the position of leading the diocese required someone with a university degree. Moreover, Agricola had proven his own competence and loyalty to the king over the years.[27]

The King's Cultivation of Parishes

While weakening the church's episcopal structure and diocesan administration, the king at the same time worked to create direct relationships with local parishes and pastors. He did this in several ways: by increasing his appointments to parish positions, by including local pastors in kingdom-wide decision making, and by giving direct aid to parishes, and by creating new parishes. The decisions at Västerås in 1527 gave the king the right to make all clerical appointments, even those of local parish pastors. It is unclear how many of the king's appointments were actually a rubber-stamping of a decision made on a more local level, but the number of pastors that received royal appointments grew during the king's reign, especially during the 1550s. What is interesting about the king's letters of appointment is how they often differed from one another in detail. Many received simple letters, such as Martinus Henrici, whom Gustav appointed vicar of Jääski in 1551. These letters simply called on the appointee to perform pastoral duties.[28] Others called on appointees to make certain contributions to the king. In 1538 the king appointed one Jöns Fordel vicar of Pietarsaari. Gustav allowed Jöns to keep all of his tax incomes as long as he paid the king annually eighty marks in cash and two barrels of butter. During the next year, he appointed a vicar to the neighboring parish of Närpes (Närpiö). The king asked him to continue the contributions of his predecessor. In 1548, Gustav appointed Michael Olai vicar of the parish of Korsholm. Gustav allowed the new vicar to keep all incomes from taxes and other ecclesiastical sources as long as he would agree to help the king economically in time of need, such as in

27 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 154.

28 KA Kuninkaalliset kirjeet 6808, 53r-53v.

cases of covering the costs of defense against the Russians. The king redeemed the agreement when war broke out with Russia in 1555. The king took from Pastor Michael his house, many valuables, and ten cows.[29] The variety of the king's conditions of appointment suggests that he had good information on the wealth at the disposal of each pastor. The king likely viewed some pastors as steady sources of income, while others, like Michael Olai, as emergency assets. Similarly, pastors, such as Martinus Henrici in Jääski, might have been spared from special economic demands because of their location on the Russian border.

As his letters of appointment suggest, the king sought as direct and detailed a relationship with as many pastors as possible. To this end, he used the *riksdag* at Västerås in 1544. This meeting is best known for the estates' approval of the Swedish monarchy's transformation from elective to hereditary. It was also the first *riksdag* to which the king systematically invited parish pastors in addition to high church officials. Like most of these meetings during Gustav's reign, there is no evidence of any participants from Finland's clergy. The estates approved a long list of activities now forbidden in the church. Among them included the veneration of saints, pilgrimages, private masses, and masses for the dead. The number of holy days was reduced again. In the Mass, use of holy water, monstrances, salt, and incense was forbidden. The document bound the church to obedience to the king, to oppose rebellion, and to recognize Crown Prince Eric as the king's successor.[30] While not a formal church order, the document gave basic guidance on many aspects of the church's activity.

Over the next decade, Gustav issued orders concerning such questions as schools and holy days. In or around 1554, he issued a decree concerning proper decorum in churches. Judging from the infractions listed, the king saw it necessary to intervene in such problems as the interruption of sermons, as well as drunkenness and fighting on church grounds.[31] Despite these measures, Gustav

29 G. O. Berg, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 19 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1901), 356; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 12 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1900), 56–57; Armas Luukko, *Etelä-Pohjanmaan historia*, vol. 2, *Keskiaika ja 1500-luku* (Helsinki: Etelä-Pohjanmaan historiatoimikunta, 1950), 468; "Michael Olai (K 1560)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=1740 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

30 Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Alin, eds., *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 411–412.

31 Johannes Schmedeman, *Kongl. stadgar etc. isr. 1528–1701 ang. justitiæ och executions ärender* (Stockholm: Johann Heinrich Werner, 1706), 29–30; Åke Andrén, "Gustav Vasas stadga om kyrkofred 1554," in *Kyrka, folk, stat: Till Sven Kjöllertsröm*, ed. Per-Olov Ahrén (Lund: Gleerup, 1987), 29–38; Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, 340–345;

avoided making a formal church order that many in the kingdom's elites wanted. In 1540 Norman had composed a church order, *Articuli ordinantiae*, which was actually approved at a *herredag* in Arboga in 1546. Gustav ignored the assembly's decision.[32] The king had managed to transform the church into a royal institution without a formal ordinance. Why did he need one? A formal and comprehensive church order went against Gustav's incremental approach to making the church a royal institution. The king had learned that too sweeping a move to change the church might provoke revolt. Incremental change minimized the risk of backlash. As Åke Andrén has put it, "the Dacke rebellion demonstrated [to the king] that it was dangerous not to have one's back free."[33]

The king created closer ties with parishes by directing resources to them. The king's takeover of the church is often understood as a one-way confiscation. Gustav's actions suggest a more nuanced approach to the question of royal control over the church's property. The king just did not take the church's property, he used his control over it to redistribute patronage. In October 1547, Gustav allowed the pastor of the parish of Jomala in the Åland Islands, Magnus Petri, to keep some of the king's share of the tithe to repair his church.[34] Similarly, Gustav allowed the parish of Kokemäki to keep part of the tithe for building a church for the tax years of 1551 and 1552.[35] The king further demonstrated his interest in sustaining individual clergymen by returning some of the church's wealth to those whom he saw in need. Examples of such royal patronage are scattered throughout Gustav's letters. In 1538 the king approved of a land transfer from the cathedral chapter to the parish of Kemiö. The king stated that "the pastoral estate [in Kemiö] was all too weak," most likely in its inability to support a pastor.[36] In 1548 Gustav gave the pastor of Nousiainen

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Lars-Olof Larsson, *Gustav Vasa—Landsfader eller tyrann?* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2002), 324–326; Göran Malmstedt, *Helgdagsreduktionen: Övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800* (Göteborg: Historiska institutionen i Göteborg, 1994), 55–67.

32 Jukka Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1980), 21.

33 Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, *Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 116.

34 K. G Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892), 8.

35 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 22 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1900), 204, 381.

36 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 5 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1852), 367.

a reduction in "taxes (*taxsse*)," probably the tithe, of three barrels of rye "for a suitable time."[37]

In March 1546, a major fire in Turku damaged the cathedral and other nearby diocesan properties. The king responded to Bishop Martinus Skytte's immediate request for financial aid by stating that he would like to help, but the "expensive and difficult times" prevented him from doing so. The king recommended to Skytte that the parishes of the diocese donate their share of the tithe for repairs.[38] He rejected outright requests from diocesan leaders for help in fixing other diocesan buildings.[39] The scholarship has understood the king's decision as particularly tight-fisted. It is believed that Gustav wanted to exploit the fire to move the city to another location.[40] The king's decision to focus on the church building rather than the wider diocesan infrastructure lost in the fire fully conformed to his desire to have a church without strong dioceses. Similarly, Gustav offered to allow some tax money to go to repair churches in the episcopal seats of Linköping, Skara, and Växjö in the same year as the Turku fire of 1546 but no other buildings in the three cities.[41] The damage of the fire was still felt though when Mikael Agricola wrote to Nils Bielke in November 1547. He stated that the "servants of the church" were already destitute before the fire and now "For when that fire destroyed our homes and goods, it is very meagre, what could be saved, has gone into the quarters and other living expenses. And still we have had to lodge guests and have to go into great debt because of the Finnish-language books, the holy Word of God and New Testament, which currently is at the printer in Stockholm."[42] In the attempt to exert every possible bit of influence over Bielke, Agricola sent the greetings of his son, Hogenskild, and nephew, Nils Banér, both students in Agricola's school.[43]

Gustav supported the creation of new parishes, particularly in border areas where the church for decades had wanted them.[44] From the beginning of the

37 *KGR*, vol. 19, 256.

38 *HFH*, vol. 7, 181–182.

39 *HFH*, vol. 7, 181–182; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 142–145.

40 Jason Lavery, *History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006), 26; Kari Uotila, "Mikael Agricolan Turku 1500-luvun alkupuolella," in *Agricolan aika*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 238.

41 *KGR*, vol. 18, 126, 146, 320, 601; Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, 323–324.

42 Mikael Agricola to Nils Bielke 21 Nov. 1547, in Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 311–315.

43 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 311–315.

44 See p. 36.

sixteenth century, both civil and ecclesiastical officials wanted to create a new parish in Iitti, an area in the parish of Hollola in southern Häme. This new parish was to meet both the needs of population growth and defense along the eastern border. The proposal was revived and tabled several times until in 1539, when Gustav Vasa decreed the construction of a church there.[45]

Starting in the late 1530s, major demographic changes occurred in the diocese. People moved out of southern Savo in search of new farmland in northern Savo, Häme, and Satakunta. The most significant of the migrations reached beyond the kingdom's eastern border. For Gustav Vasa, these new settlements constituted an opportunity to strengthen state power along the eastern border. In 1542, the king took greater control of settlement movements by declaring all unsettled lands as property of the Crown, thus making all new settlers taxpayers. In order to better protect and tax new settlements, Gustav founded a royal demesne at Tavinsalmi in northern Savo, a locale later known as Kuopio.[46]

In 1549, Mikael Agricola and fellow chapter member Canutus Johannis made a visitation in northern Savo. In a letter to the commander of St. Olof's Castle and the king's point man in eastern Finland, Gustav Fincke, Agricola and Johannis complained about the low level of knowledge of Christianity among the population. They concluded that only a small part of the population could recite any of the Our Father, the Creed, or any of the Ten Commandments. Agricola and Canutus Johannis made two requests to Fincke to address the situation. First, they asked him to facilitate the construction of a new church in Tavinsalmi. Second, they proposed that he depute his own castle chaplain to teach basic catechism to the local population in the hope that they then would attend church more regularly.[47] This interaction indicates the strong interaction between statebuilding and theological reform of the church: Agricola and Johannis felt that they could not advance their mission without the help of the king's local lieutenant.

It is unknown if Fincke's chaplain ever taught catechism, but a church at Tavinsalmi was built and opened in 1552. Fincke revealed his and the king's role in the founding of the church at the end of a long report written in February 1552 to Gustav Vasa:

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45 *HFH*, vol. 6, 172–173; Aimo Hallila, *Iitin historia*, vol. 1 (Iitti: Iitin kunta ja seurakunta, 1988), 77–83.

46 Yrjö Kaukiainen, "Suomen asuttaminen," in *Suomen taloushistoria*, vol. 1, ed. Eino Jutikkala et al. (Helsinki: Tammi, 1980), 34–38; Kauko Pirinen, *Savon historia*, vol. II:1 (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1982), 529–537; Kari Pitkänen, "Suomen väestön historialliset kehityslinjat," in *Suomen väestö*, ed. Seppo Koskinen (Hämeenlinna: Karisto, 1994), 30–35.

47 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1856), 58–60; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, vol. II:1, 539–544.

> Lastly, All Gracious Lord, I humbly add that Your Royal Majesty should know that I have allowed a new church to be built in St. Olof's province in the new parish named Tavinsalmi. I think in comparison to the other parishes, that this [church] should have a pastoral position for which Your Royal Majesty has so graciously seen fit to relinquish some land for the same parsonage that lies nearby, where some peasants live and are taxed at six tax skins. I would rather not reduce the Crown's taxes without Your Royal Majesty's knowledge. If his royal majesty should see fit, that there should be a pastor at this church, Your Grace's poor subjects in the same parish [Tavinsalmi] humbly beseech Your Royal Majesty that Your Grace will honor them to allow and relinquish to them a copy of a Mass book from Vyborg Castle, for there are four or five who are from the [now defunct] monastery in the town, that will lie around and decay, unless they are used. At the same time, All Gracious Lord, they request humbly one of the bells that is now at St. Olof's Castle, that Your Royal majesty would give up the smaller of the two, which weighs five pounds, to the same church, because both are not needed. If Your Royal Majesty sees fit to give up one, they will obediently compensate Your Royal majesty to the best of what they can do.[48]

In his response, the king stated his satisfaction with Fincke's arrangements. He commanded Fincke to deal directly with Vyborg Castle for the Mass book. He was ready to give to the church the bell it wanted "for an honorable payment either in fish or whatever the peasants can most preferably produce."[49] Another possible outcome of the visitation was the building of a chapel in Rantasalmi in southern Savo around 1554. Until the seventeenth century, foundational moments of Finland's parishes are poorly documented. Chapels and churches were built and then left empty as populations shifted. Resources at hand could often only provide for the building of a barn-like structure that would serve as a chapel. As a result, physical remains often have not survived.[50]

The migration out of the southern Savo region had an impact on the creation of three other ecclesiastical communities. By 1558 a chapel was founded in Rautalampi in northern Häme. In 1561 it was made a formal parish by Gustav's son, King Eric XIV.[51] On the shores of Lake Oulujärvi, a parish later known

48 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1849), 159–165; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, vol. II:1, 536–537.

49 *HFH*, vol. 3, 165–167; Pirinen, *Savon historia*, vol. II:1, 536–537.

50 Arvo M. Soininen and Väinö Johannes Tanskanen, *Rantasalmen historia* (Rantasalmi: Rantasalmen seurakunta ja kunta, 1954), 51–54.

51 Veijo A. Saloheimo, *Rautalammin historia* (Rautalampi: Rautalammin kunta, 1959), 39.

as Paltamo was founded in 1559 according to seventeenth-century documents. The first mention of a pastor is from 1563.[52] The Savonian migration led to the founding of a parish in 1560 in Ruovesi in Pirkanmaa. According to oral tradition written down in 1685, the first vicar of Ruovesi, Olaus Martini Sarkki, preached under a large linden tree while a church was under construction.[53] Royal influence was present in the decree to move the city of Ulvila to the more coastal location of Pori (Björneborg) in 1558. The new parish included both Pori and Ulvila.[54]

Of the parishes created during Gustav's reign, Kalajoki on the northwest coast was the one known instance of a church parish created despite the king's opposition. In the years before 1536, residents of this community had sought to create its own church parish out of the large parish of Saloinen (also known as Salo) that covered Finland's northwestern coast. According to folk tradition, Kalajoki already had become a parish in 1525. Whalers killed its first vicar when he sought to collect taxes. More certain is that Kalajoki developed into some kind of church or chapel parish by the time the vicar of Saloinen died in 1535. In 1536, when the new vicar of Saloinen was appointed, he insisted on keeping Kalajoki in his parish. In response, a delegation from Kalajoki traveled to Stockholm to appeal to the king for a church parish. The king decided in the favor of the vicar.[55] The king's decision may have been motivated by a desire to overrule a decision by the cathedral chapter in favor of Kalajoki and undermine the chapter's authority. Gustav's decision created a personal bond with the vicar of Saloinen, thus giving him more direct influence over another parish. In any case, the inhabitants of Kalajoki did not give up on having their own parish. In 1540 Kalajoki is mentioned in documents as an independent parish. Agricola lists it as a parish in his account book.[56]

Kalajoki exemplifies how strife-ridden parish politics could be. The first known vicar, Simo, made his first appearance in the written records in 1543

52 Jorma Keränen and Hannu Romppainen, *Paltamo: Kainuun emäpitäjä* (Paltamo: Paltamon kunta, 2013), 299–307.

53 Pentti Vesanen, *Ruoveden seurakunnan vaiheita 1560–1978* (Ruovesi: Ruoveden seurakunta, 1978), 10–11.

54 Jalmari Jaakkola, J. W. Ruuth, and Mauno Jokipii, *Porin historia*, vol. 1–2 (Pori: Porin kaupunki, 1958), 325.

55 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 9 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1885), 154; Pentti Virrankoski, "Kirkko ja papisto," in Matti Huurre, Pentti Virrankoski, and Kustaa Vilkuna, *Suur-Kalajoen historia,* vol. 1 (Kokkola: Keski-Pohjanmaan historiasarja, 1956), 321–322.

56 Virrankoski, "Kirkko ja papisto," 327.

convicted in court of assaulting two of his parishioners. In 1544 a parishioner was fined for injuring the horse of the new vicar. In 1551 another vicar, Michael Erici Tavastius, was fined for assaulting a parishioner, probably for non-payment of taxes. Taxes were probably a factor behind the murder of Michael by a parishioner in 1555.[57] The next vicar was Gregorius Henrici Balls, the first vicar known to have suffered a natural death in 1577. According to folk memory, Mikael Agricola appointed him vicar, since he was the largest student at the Cathedral School in Turku. Gregorius became known in popular legend as "Koira Kreus" or "Dog Greg," since he supposedly felt himself so threatened that he traveled always in the company of four men, three dogs, and handcuffs. Gregorius was so afraid of his flock that he lived in a house on stilts and took away the ladder before he went to bed.[58] In 1559 one of Gregorius's parishioners was fined for slandering the pastor. In the next year, another was fined for calling Gregorius a thief.[59] Nothing indicates that any of these tensions were based on religious differences or opposition to the king.[60]

The Russian Threat

The spread of settlements inflamed already tense relations between the Swedish kingdom and Russia. Since the war of 1495–1497, the struggle had become a frozen conflict. The two sides agreed several times during Gustav's reign to postpone the resolution of tensions. In 1527 the two sides agreed to reconfirm the peace treaty between the two sides. Skirmishes along the border continued, leading to a ten-year ceasefire in 1537. Over the next ten years, border incursions increased. For the Swedish side, the incursions largely came in the form of new settlements. The Russians preferred to stage raids on border communities.[61]

57 Virankoski, "Kirkko ja papisto," 327–328.

58 "Balls, Gregorius Henrici (K 1577)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721* Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=182 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

59 Nenonen, *Synnin palkka on kuolema*, 44.

60 For an attempt to read religious differences into violence against the clergy see Kaarlo Arffman, "Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland," in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, ed. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 255–273.

61 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 203–206. See p. 49.

In January 1544, the Russians attacked the administrative district of Äyräpää on the Karelian Isthmus. They killed several armed men. In addition, they hung twelve peasants, and then put their bodies under the ice of the lake. Those not killed had their possessions looted.[62] These attacks enhanced the willingness inside Finland to go to war. The king's commander at Vyborg Castle, Nils Grabbe, in 1546 proposed to Gustav a plan for attacking Russia on sea and land. In 1547 representatives of Finland's estates discussed the Russian threat in Turku. The estates disagreed over the need for offensive war, but they supported scorched-earth tactics should the Russians invade Finland.[63] Finland's leading personages stood ready for war. Erik Fleming stated that the only negotiation with the Russians should be "with the tip of a spear."[64] Ultimately, neither the king nor Finland's elites were ready for war. In 1547 representatives of Finland's nobility, clergy, and the burghers of Turku met and decided against offensive operations. In 1547 negotiations between the two sides led to another ceasefire, and most important for the Swedish side, a continuing delay in re-demarcating the boundary.[65]

In King Gustav's correspondence with officials in Finland, Russia is a frequent if not the most frequent topic. In his correspondence with the clergy, the king called for clergymen to provide food, money, and quarters for troops in preparation for possible hostilities.[66] In 1548 Bishop Skytte relayed to the king the clergy's reluctance to pay an additional tax that he king was placing on them for the diocese's defense. The king in December 1548 responded to the bishop by stating that his extra taxes were for the "needs of the people," and "for the protection and defense of the country." He stated his reluctance to burden "good men in the matter, if otherwise need and the situation were not as great and events could go another way, for one knows himself, what danger Finland has in confronting the Russians."[67] In the letter, Gustav instructed his

62 Uppsala Universitetsbibliothek Handskriftsavdelning UUB 121, 315; A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1846), 312–315; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 203–206.

63 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 203–204.

64 *KGR*, vol. 17, 96–104.

65 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 203–205.

66 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 24 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1906), 434–436; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1875), 154–155; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 16 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1895), 137–138; *KGR*, vol. 19, 353–354.

67 *KGR*, vol. 19, 353–354.

commanders Henrik Classon and Olof Trottesson to make an agreement that all sides could accept.[68]

By March 1549 this agreement was not reached. In a letter "to the many men and clergy" in the diocese Gustav proclaimed how during his entire reign he had the interests of the people of Finland at heart and had acted "as a Christian king should act."[69] He stated that despite this and the efforts of him and his commanders in Finland to come to an agreement he never would have had "the confidence to presume that a part of you would act so contumaciously and dishonorably" as to refuse his commanders' requests. He then cited several cases in which he had to pay for the transportation costs of trips taken by the bishop in which he traveled with "one hundred or two hundred horses." He listed many other burdens and "subsidies" that he bore for the clergy and again demanded compliance.[70] It was unlikely that Skytte owned ten much less one or two hundred horses. Two days later, Gustav repeated his complaints to Skytte and the cathedral chapter in a more condensed form.[71]

No evidence suggests that the king saw Skytte, Agricola, or anyone in the diocesan leadership as complicit in the mutiny. Considering the king's penchant for paranoia, this opposition might have consisted of only a handful of pastors in strategically important places. Applying more traditional approaches might leave one to interpret the conflict as either a national-minded clergy standing up to an acquisitive king or a clergy standing for ecclesiastical liberty. No evidence suggests that the clergy opposed any of Gustav's previous calls for contributions for defense. The problem for the clergy was that Gustav's demands came at a time when the clergy was trying to digest other financial challenges, such as the king's assumption of tithes and church lands. The king's changes in taxation made clergymen retrench and readjust their personal economies. Even the king seems to have understood that he was putting too much on his subjects. The tone of his letters to Finland's clergy is actually quite restrained compared to how the king often responded to non-payment of taxes.

Ecclesiastical Courts

Another example of the king's statebuilding by attrition was his treatment of ecclesiastical courts. The Swedish kingdom's medieval system of ecclesiastical

68 *KGR*, vol. 19, 353–354.

69 *HFH*, vol. 7, 259–262.

70 *HFH*, vol. 7, 259–262.

71 *HFH*, vol. 7, 267–268.

courts was based on temporal courts in which juries of their peers judged the accused. In the medieval ideal, the dean of the area would come to a parish twice a year and preside over trials, once during the winter (January or February) and then once during June or July. The dean would act as judge with usually twelve local men as jurors. Sometimes the juries consisted only of six men. Medieval statues called for ten. Sentences were usually given in the form of fines payable to the church.[72]

The church and state were not the instruments of social discipline in the Swedish kingdom that they would be in the seventeenth century. The rise of greater social discipline is seen as a major by-product of the Reformation, especially in Protestant Europe. Religious change made for new kinds of norms applied to all in society. The Swedish kingdom's church did not become an instrument of social discipline during Gustav Vasa's reign for a variety of reasons. The king was primarily interested in his subjects learning the discipline of paying taxes. He showed little interest in regulating human behavior in a way in which the church could play a role. The king focused primarily on creating a strong fiscal state by getting more people to pay more taxes.

At the *riksdag* of Västerås in 1527, Gustav Vasa agreed to the requests of clergymen close to him to maintain ecclesiastical courts. The courts were, however, to turn all fines levied over to the king. The courts were allowed to continue to operate and act against such moral transgressions as violating Sabbath regulations (most frequently the ban on fishing on Sunday), fornication, bearing false witness, and using the Lord's name in vain. It is difficult to gain a grasp over the activities of ecclesiastical courts during the whole of Gustav Vasa's reign, since records are not available for all areas at all times. For Finland, available court records start in 1549. Only a few deaneries have records from one year 1549–1560. The extant sources from this time along with more extensive sources from the years after 1560 do suggest some patterns in the court's activity that suggest a merging with the temporal judiciary. Ecclesiastical courts often met on the same day or the day after the local district court (*ting*/*käräjät*). The tradition of the court in which the dean would preside was sometimes replaced with either a local pastor or the bailiff who chaired the temporal court. The records of the ecclesiastical courts are found in the records of the civil courts. Already in 1533, Laurentius Petri stated that judicial power belonged to the king and the deans were acting on his behalf for the time being. Ecclesiastical courts began to diverge more from their original

72 Kauko Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja 1500-luvun maarovasteista ja rovastinkäräjistä," in *Arce et vigilia: Studia historico-ecclesiastica in honorem Ilmari Salomies*, ed. Martti Parvio (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1963), 13–49.

idea of a forum for personal public confession and restitution of sin toward a mechanism for punishment. For example, husbands could be asked to pay for their wives' transgressions or landowners for the delinquencies of those who worked their land.[73]

This growing merging of civil with ecclesiastical courts is evident in the larger discourse by the reformers concerning the church's judicial power. Martin Luther himself in his doctrine of the two kingdoms called for the investment of all judicial power in temporal authorities.[74] Olaus Petri himself saw the decision at Västerås as just a temporary measure before the king assumed full authority over all courts. In fact, Petri wrote extensively on ways to develop the temporal judiciary. Arguably, his most lasting contribution to Swedish society did not consist of his religious writings, but rather his Rules for Judges that he published around 1540. These rules are not laws or a legal code, but rather a series of guidelines, suggestions, and principals for judges when interpreting the law. Petri wrote short, aphoristic statements that could be understood by the common person who served in juries or a local judge lacking in formal legal training. Its instructions range from the very specific and unambiguous, such as "an enemy may not give testimony" to the more abstract challenges, such as asking judges to consider what is a crime and to reinterpret laws to meet the needs of the time. "The law does not approve everything not ordered punishable, because all crimes cannot be listed in the book." Largely a compilation of medieval best practices, law codes published in both Sweden and Finland since have included Olaus Petri's instructions.[75]

Like Olaus Petri, Mikael Agricola ventured into the realm of temporal law. He translated in 1549 the maritime legal code of Visby from Low German into Swedish. The last known copy of the manuscript burned in the fire that destroyed the university library in Turku in 1827. A translation of the law in a printed 1689 edition refers to Agricola's translation.[76] In his handbook, printed

73 Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja 1500-luvun maarovasteista ja rovastinkäräjistä," 19–20.

74 Martin Luther, "Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed," in *Luther's Works*, ed. James Atkinson and Helmut T. Lehmann, vol. 45, *The Christian in Society II* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), 75–129.

75 Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Richterregeln des Olavus Petri: Ihre Bedeutung im Allgemeinen und für die Entwicklung des schwedischen Strafprozeßrechts vom 14. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and Stockholm: Norstedt, 1966); Jarkko Tontti, "Olaus Petri and the Rules for Judges," *Associations—Journal for Social and Legal Theory,* 4 (2000): 113–128; Heikki Ylikangas, *Valta ja väkivalta: Keski- ja uuden ajan taitteen Suomessa* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1988), 7–77.

76 Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 104.

also in 1549, Agricola devoted several pages to those condemned to death and those pastors tending to the condemned. Agricola's counsel is largely spiritual. He tells pastors to console the condemned by recalling how criminals were condemned with Jesus and how, because of their confessions on the cross, they were saved. If the condemned feels that he was wrongly convicted, so Jesus was wrongly convicted. By dying, the condemned person is bettering society like Jesus's death did. "And even though this death, which you will now suffer, is shameful in the eyes of the world, be strong in the knowledge that Christ's death was also shameful, but it was also necessary and good, because from it came the salvation of all of us. So your death is shameful, but it is not entirely without fruit. For you have made your public confession, for which after God's justification one must suffer the consequences. It is for the common good, that such people are punished. Because of this your death is good."[77]

The two most important reformers of the Swedish kingdom thus accepted the takeover by the state of judicial authority. Here too, one sees clerical cooperation in the statebuilding process. Neither was willing just to give the king the judiciary, but rather they were interested in creating stronger state-run judicial institutions that would support the church's mission of upholding morality. Gustav Vasa for his part accepted the participation of the clergy in reforming the judiciary.

In the years between the Örebro meeting in 1540 and Mikael Agricola's formal appointment as bishop of Turku in 1554, Gustav Vasa made significant steps toward making the church a royal institution. The church lost much of its control over taxation. Despite his failure to eliminate bishops and dioceses, diocesan self-governance was eviscerated. In practice, the king approached his ideal of a church structure with no intermediate bodies between him and the individual parishes. In the face of this royal reform of the church, the clergy, and the diocesan leadership sought more to influence the course of royal reform than oppose outright the king's plans for a royal church. In return, the church's leaders hoped for support in introducing Lutheran reform. The king's takeover of such an important institution obviously had repercussions for society as a whole.

77 Kaisa Häkkinen, ed., *Mikael Agricolan käsikirja* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2011), 53–57. Quote on page 53.

CHAPTER 5

A Reformation in Reverse?

Since the publication of Bernd Moeller's book *Reichsstadt und Reformation* in 1962, Reformation historiography has emphasized social factors behind religious reform in sixteenth-century Europe. It has become accepted historical truth that the ideas of the Protestant Reformation theologians would not have taken root without the requisite social conditions and, more precisely, without the prerequisite social change.[1]

Assumed to apply to all of Western Christendom, this understanding of the Reformation has not been rigorously tested in respect to Scandinavia. On the one hand, the lack of attention to possible social dimensions of the Scandinavian Reformations is surprising, considering that social historical research has been a, if not the, driving force in historical scholarship in Scandinavia over recent decades. On the other hand, this lack of attention is understandable, since the Swedish kingdom had none of the social conditions that provided traction for reform in central Europe. The kingdom's cities lacked the social tensions that served as a basis for reform in central European cities. The cities did not embrace reform as a means of strengthening themselves against monarchical power. The Swedish kingdom's peasantry did not apply religious reform to a social agenda. The biggest uprisings during Gustav Vasa's reign opposed rather than supported reform of the church. The nobility accepted royal reform after the king bought it off. The social group key to any successful implementation of reform, the clergy, approached reform reluctantly and selectively. The lack of social tension explains in part why Lutheran reform had a much slower reception in the Swedish kingdom than in many parts of central Europe.

In Finland and the Swedish kingdom as a whole, social changes did not set the stage for reform of the church. Rather, royal and Lutheran reform set the stage for social changes that affected the kingdom's four major social groups: the clergy, the nobility, the urban burghers, and the peasantry. Thus, the course

1 Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft), 29–47; Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1962). Moeller's work is published in English in *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, ed. H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards (Durham: Labyrinth, 1982).

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of the Reformation in the Swedish kingdom ran counter to the dominant Reformation narrative.

In assessing these social changes, one can hardly underestimate the importance of land to the early modern Swedish kingdom's economy and society. The peasantry's strength as a political force rested on its ownership of land. Taxation was based largely on levies placed on landowning peasants. The monarchy before Gustav Vasa was weak in part because of the small size of the royal demesne. An abundance of available land allowed the population to seek more lucrative economic opportunities. Land was a means of upward mobility. It was bought, sold, and exchanged with such velocity that it was more like a liquid than a fixed asset. The reduction of the church's holdings placed even more land into circulation. The king did not just hold on the land that he gained from the church: he sold or exchanged some of it for other pieces of land.[2] The decisions at Västerås in 1527 allowed those and those whose ancestors had given or sold land to the church before 1454 to reclaim these donations. This put more land into circulation.[3]

The Nobility

In Gustav Vasa's time, the Swedish kingdom's nobility or *frälse* consisted of about five to six hundred adult men. About half of these resided east of the Gulf of Bothnia. In other geographical respects, though, the nobility was not evenly distributed. Northern parts of the kingdom, such as Dalarna, had no nobles at all. The eastern half of the Diocese of Turku had only a handful of nobles. In Finland, the nobility owned at the beginning of the Reformation era a bit over three percent of the land while it held about a fifth of the land west of the Gulf of Bothnia. In his book on the *frälse* in the sixteenth century, Jan Samuelson asks justifiably if the Swedish kingdom's nobles were aristocrats or ennobled peasants. As has been already mentioned, the kingdom's *frälse* bore only a poor resemblance to nobilities elsewhere in Europe. The status of *frälse* was not yet hereditary in Gustav Vasa's time. To remain in the *frälse* one had to maintain a cavalryman for the king. This meant that the nobility was open to both upward and downward mobility. In the entire

2 Many of Gustav's land deals are catalogued in RA Kammerarkivet, Arv och Eget 38, 43:1.

3 Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Alin, eds., *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 82–87.

kingdom during the sixteenth century some fifteen families did not have to struggle to maintain this status. They formed the high nobility or aristocracy in kingdom's political elite.[4]

The rest of the *frälse* had to struggle to retain its status. In the decades before Gustav's reign, many *frälse* families in Finland had died out or were surviving only matrilineally through intermarriage with non-nobles. Gustav reduced the number of poorer nobles and so-called "half-nobles" from the rolls by insisting on service requirements to the Crown. This resulted in a smaller but more economically secure nobility. As the nobility lost economic opportunities in the king's reduction of church offices, it gained new opportunities in administering the new state offices that the king was creating.[5]

As in the rest of the Swedish kingdom, opportunities to reclaim lands donated to the church disproportionately benefitted the nobility, since it had donated the most. The nobility was particularly interested in gaining as much of the church's land as possible, since the law barred them from holding land liable to taxation, that is, some ninety percent of land in Finland.[6] The biggest noble winners in the Diocese of Turku consisted of the brothers Fleming: Erik, Ivar, and Joakim. Based on their ancestors' donations, Erik Fleming took lands belonging to the Turku Cathedral, the Dominican St. Olof's Monastery in Turku, the parish of Pargas, and the Naantali Abbey. Ivar similarly took ecclesiastical lands in the Åland Islands and from Turku Cathedral. Joakim bought from the king two plots of land that belonged to the church in Mynämäki, reclaimed four plots of land belonging to the Corpus Christi prebend, and then exchanged for them two plots belonging to the Naantali Abbey.[7]

The extant evidence and research suggest that nobles in Finland were able to take greater advantage of the Västerås decisions than nobles elsewhere in the kingdom. In Finland, over the course of the sixteenth century the nobility's share of land holdings rose from 3.1 to 7.8 percent. Much of that increase,

4 See p. 26; Jan Samuelson, *Aristokrat eller förädlad bonde? Det svenska ekonomi, politik och sociala förbindelser under tiden 1523–1611* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993), 265–267.

5 Eric Anthoni, *Finlands medeltids frälse och 1500-adel* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1970), 269, 272, 295; Samuelson, *Aristokrat,* 265.

6 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia,* vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 128–129; Kauko Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio Varsinais-Suomessa ja sen seuraukset*, vol. 5:3, *Varsinais-Suomen historia*, ed. Einar V. Juva et al. (Turku: Varsinaissuomen historiantutkimusyhdistys, 1955), 24.

7 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 128; Carl Ramsdahl, *Åländska folkets historia*, vol. 2:1 (Mariehamn: Ålands kulturstiftelse, 1988), 9–11.

especially during Gustav Vasa's time, came from ecclesiastical lands.[8] Elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom, the percentage of land in noble hands remained largely unchanged, even though the church had held a much higher percentage of land west of the Gulf of Bothnia.[9]

The transfer of lands from the church to the Crown and others had a significant impact on the lives of the so-called land peasants (*lampuodit*/*landbönder*) who worked land owned by others. Many of those non-freeholding peasants experienced new burdens. Among the large medieval landowners, the church was the least demanding landlord. The takeover of the church's land by the Crown and the nobility meant an increase of demands on those who worked the land and greater enforcement of traditional obligations.[10]

The Case of Naantali Abbey

Monastic institutions grew in the medieval period largely out of the gifts from the laity. With Gustav's accession to power many in the laity, or in most cases their descendants, sought to reclaim those gifts. Most of Finland's monasteries did not offer much property to reclaim, since they were mostly small and run by mendicant orders. All but one was closed down easily by the beginning of the 1540s, usually after some time of dormancy.[11] The Diocese of Turku did have one large and wealthy monastic institution – the Bridgettine Naantali Abbey.

The abbey's property was reduced in two ways. First, it lost land in accordance with the Västerås decrees. Second, it sold land, likely in order to compensate for losses in income from donated land and other sources. A list from the early 1530s of the abbey's land transactions gives a revealing snapshot into the process of land reclamation. Starting in 1523, the list divides the transactions chronologically between those before and after the Västerås *riksdag* in June 1527. Qualitatively the transactions before and after the *riksdag* were largely identical in that land was being reclaimed based on ancestral ties. This suggests that Gustav's decision at Västerås to allow people to reclaim donated

8 Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio*, 29.

9 Suvianna Seppälä, *Viljana, nahkoina, kapakalana: Talonpoikien maksamat kruununverot Suomessa vuosina 1539–1609* (Helsinki: SKS, 2009), 29.

10 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta: Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809*, 3rd edition (Helsinki: WSOY, 2008), 42; Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio*, 29–34.

11 See pp. 76–77.

and sold land was both a move to gain political support and a concession to reality.[12]

People from a variety of social groups took the opportunity to claim land. Of the twenty-four tracts listed, three were taken by Erik Fleming, one by his brother Ivar, and one by his other brother Joakim. It lists two properties taken by reforming clergyman Petrus Särkilahti, one he claimed on behalf of his aunt. The other one, a plot in Turku, he claimed according to the document "without rebuttal."[13] Member of the cathedral chapter Jakob Wenne took an ecclesiastical estate that, according to the document, "stood in dispute and [was] unresolved with adjudication."[14] Three women claimed land on behalf of deceased ancestors. In only one of the cases is it clear that the woman was a widow, although likely all three were. Land was claimed and bought by peasants as well.[15] Most commonly the confiscation of ecclesiastical property is understood in terms of gains by the monarch and the advancement of statebuilding. It was also a unique opportunity to redistribute wealth. One should not confuse this alienation of church lands with land reform in the more modern sense. Those who gained church lands already had land.

Despite these confiscations, the abbey survived King Gustav's reign. It became the last monastic institution in the Swedish kingdom to close when the last resident nun died in 1591. Several factors contributed to the resiliency of the abbey in King Gustav's time. The king was in no hurry to close down the abbey. In 1531 Abbess Valborg Joackimsdotter Fleming, sister of Erik, Ivar, and Joakim Fleming, left her post. It is unknown why the abbess left or where she went after resigning. In keeping with his tendency to temporize in respect to monastic institutions, the king neither closed the abbey nor appointed a new abbess. Instead, he left the position open until 1536, appointing Valborg Torkilsdotter as the new abbess, who served until 1549. Gustav then appointed another abbess, Birgitta Pedersdotter, who served until 1565. The king allowed the abbey to experience a slow attrition as he did many other monasteries in the kingdom.[16] The abbey was able to keep some of its lands until 1556, when the king confiscated all of them and supported the abbey with various donations of

12 Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, vol. 8 (Helsinki: Finlands Statsarkiv, 1935), Documents 6059, 6560.

13 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6560.

14 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6560.

15 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6560.

16 Birgit Klockars, *I nådens dal: Klosterfolk och andra c. 1440–1590* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademi, 1979), 183–187.

assistance.[17] Moreover, the abbey did have into the 1550s precious metals that possibly could have been sold if needed. In 1554 a bailiff of the king, Simon Tomasson, visited the abbey and confiscated silver objects for the king, among them four silver chalices and a silver monstrance.[18] It is highly likely that the abbey continued to receive offerings of food and money as it had during the medieval period. As the abbey's income and assets were declining, so were its costs. The abbey was no longer allowed to take in novices, so the abbey's population was in decline. One of the factors that might have guided the king's deliberate approach to the abbey was that it was largely populated by nuns who, if forced out of their cloistered environment, would have difficulties finding a new life. The monks forced out of other monasteries could at least seek employment as pastors. In 1558 fifteen nuns and six monks lived in the abbey.[19]

The Reformation's Impact on the Cities

Urban burghers similarly sought to buy and claim ecclesiastical property. In 1529 Gustav Vasa gave a burgher of Turku, Erik Skalm, several tracts of land belonging to the Nykor prebend, "on behalf of his wife and her brothers."[20] This document reveals a common practice of those claiming property not only in the name of deceased relatives, but also on behalf of living wives or other family members. The king ultimately had the final say on alienations of church lands.

In Turku the Reformation increased the presence of the burghers in the city at the expense of the church, in particular after the fire that ravaged the ecclesiastical quarter in 1546. Once it became clear that Gustav was not going to move the city because of the fire, the burghers sought to buy up the damaged ecclesiastical real estate. Gustav sold many of those plots that he had already taken, trying often to exchange them with farms owned by burghers. The demand for real estate became so great that Gustav started to sell plots that still formally belonged to the church.[21] In 1551 a newly married Mikael Agricola bought a house from Gustav Vasa in Turku. The house had belonged to the

17 Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio*, 33.

18 Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vol. 3, *Spridda urkunder från tiden 1531–1560* (Helsinki: J. Simelii Arfvingars tryckeri, 1904), 295; Klockars, *I nådens dal,* 187.

19 Seppo Suvanto, *Naantalin historia*, vol. 1 (Naantali: Naantalin kaupunki, 1976), 144–146.

20 *FMU*, vol. 8, 6458.

21 Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 142–148.

prebend of St. Catherine.[22] The lack of sources does not allow for comparison between Turku and other cities and communities. If Turku was representative of the rest of the diocese, the king was more interested in owning agricultural land than urban real estate, and thus much of the ecclesiastical land in cities taken by the king from the church ultimately landed in the hands of burghers. The Reformation led to a greater concentration of urban land holdings into the hands of the burghers.

The dominant narrative of the Reformation in the cities emphasizes the growth of new forms of urban poor relief and social services to replace those of the church.[23] In the Swedish kingdom, services for the poor and sick declined during Gustav Vasa's era. The cities did not take the initiative for maintaining social services that had been maintained by the church before the king's confiscations. Out of the services offered by the medieval church to the poor and sick, the only surviving institutions were hospitals.[24] Gustav's concern about the future of hospitals prompted him in 1528 to issue a call to hospitals to continue their operations.[25] His concern, however, did not lead him to fund hospitals fully. With the confiscation of ecclesiastical lands, many hospitals lost their sources of funding. Of the six hospitals that existed in Turku before Gustav's reign, two survived: the Holy Spirit House and St. Göran's Hospital.[26] The sources concerning the surviving hospitals are very fragmentary but suggest continuity with the medieval era. In 1544 one Rawnå Jons, a "burgher of Stockholm" left his land in Maaria (S:t Marie) to the hospitals in Turku.[27] In 1554 Gustav Vasa donated grain to the hospitals in Turku.[28] In Vyborg at least one hospital remained in operation. In 1538, King Gustav named one Laurentius Johannis as director of the

22 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 102.

23 Kaarlo Arffman, *Auttamisen vallankumous: Luterilaisuuden yritys ratkaista köyhyyden aiheuttamat ongelmat* (Helsinki: SKS and Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2008); Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, eds., *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe, 1500–1700* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

24 C. J. Gardberg, "Kaupunkilaitos keskiajalla ja uuden ajan alussa," in *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia*, vol. 1, ed. Päiviö Tommila (Helsinki: Suomen kaupunkiliitto, 1981), 42; J. W. Ruuth, *Åbo stads historia under medeltiden och 1500-talet*, vol. 4 (Turku: Bestyrelsen för Åbo stads historiska museum, 1923), 136–138.

25 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1848), 227–228.

26 Ruuth, *Åbo stads historia*, 136–138.

27 RA Strödda historiska handlingar 3, 6 Oct. 1544 will of Rawnå Jons.

28 KA Kuninkaalliset kirjeet 6808, fol. 36v.

hospital.[29] An account of the hospital's income from 1543 has survived.[30] An investigator of the king, Jakob Teit, recorded in the 1550s incomes for the hospital in Vyborg from several prebends. Since these prebends were now under royal control, this suggests that the king was concerned about maintaining the hospital in Vyborg. The king's investment in the hospital might also be a result of the war that he was fighting against Russia at the time. Vyborg stood on the front line of the war.[31] There is no information concerning institutions for the poor and sick in Finland's other cities or the countryside in this period.

Socio-Economic Change in the Clergy

Gustav Vasa's statebuilding activities and the growth of Lutheran reform raise two questions concerning the social change experienced by the clergy. First, how did the Reformation affect the clergy's status as an elite in the kingdom? Second, to what extent did the clergy suffer economic decline?

In some respects, the clergy suffered a decline in elite status. Bishops no longer sat on the Council of the Realm. Gustav's attacks on episcopal offices and cathedral chapters gave ecclesiastical officials fewer and less secure opportunities to influence events on a kingdom-wide or regional scale. The reduction in these positions and clerical incomes overall made the clergy less attractive to the nobility. Young nobles who in previous generations would have sought opportunities in the church now were attracted to the new state offices that the king was creating.[32] In turn, the clergy over the course of the sixteenth century became increasingly more burgher and peasant in background.[33] Martinus Skytte was the last bishop of Turku born of noble or *frälse* background.[34] In other respects, though, the clergy retained and even enhanced its status as a leading social group. The church's loss of status was

29 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 12 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1900), 72.

30 RA Röda Nummerserien 33.

31 Kustavi Grotenfelt, ed., *Jaakko Teitin valitusluettelo Suomen aatelistoa vastaan v. 1555–1556* (Helsinki: SKS, 1894), 2–14.

32 Anthoni, *Frälse*, 272; Samuelson, *Aristokrat*, 265.

33 Anthoni, *Frälse*, 292–300.

34 Archbishop Edvard Bergenheim of Turku (in office 1850–1884) came out of the nobility. Technically this still leaves Skytte as the last noble bishop, because in 1817 Turku became an archiepiscopal see.

weighted more to the top of the church hierarchy. In the parishes, the clergy's status did not diminish. While the king removed high prelates from the Council of the Realm, he welcomed ordinary parish pastors when he called meetings of the estates.[35] In much of the Diocese of Turku and the Swedish kingdom, the local parish pastor was still the only daily reminder to villagers of any kind of authority.

The elimination of priestly celibacy in 1536 allowed the clergy to have legitimate families. The scholarship highlights the pioneering marriages of Petrus Särkilahti and Olaus Petri before the official abolition of celibacy. The few extant sources suggest that marriage among the clergy did not become normative until after Gustav's reign. Some clergymen during Gustav Vasa's reign remained loyal to the teachings and discipline of the Catholic Church while accepting the king's assumption of the church's wealth and administration. The economic upheavals of the king's confiscations might have made many clergymen delay or even forego marriage. The part of the Lutheran-minded clergy in its twenties, that is, of prime marrying age, was at first small, and some of these clergymen were spending their twenties abroad studying. The creation of a married clergy would take decades to complete, but already in the first half of the sixteenth century the first "clerical families" appear in which sons followed in their fathers' footsteps. Perhaps the earliest example of a clerical family was that of Jacob Wenne, a canon of the cathedral chapter. Already during the 1510s, Wenne had sired a child, Johannes, with his housekeeper, Getrud Staffansdotter. The child of a priest could not become a priest under canon law. At some point in the early 1540s though, Martinus Skytte declared Johannes Wenne fit for the clergy, since his father and mother were, in the opinion of the bishop, legally married. It is unclear as to why the bishop came to this conclusion. In any case, Skytte ordained Johannes Wenne, who served as vicar first in Rauma, and then in 1557 he took a similar post in Eura. Despite his pastoral posts, Johannes Wenne's extramarital birth still placed him in a position of having to fight relatives for his father's inheritance into the 1560s.[36] When Johannes Wenne died in 1572, his son Martinus took over as vicar of Eura. When Martinus died in 1577, his brother Laurentius took the post until

35 See page 107.

36 Mia Korpiola, "Lutheran Marriage Norms in Action: The Example of Post-Reformation Sweden, 1520–1600," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, ed. Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 136–143; "Wenne, Johannes Jacobi (K luultavasti 1572)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=2651 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

his death, estimated around 1587. It is not known if Laurentius had any children.[37]

Another early example of the creation of a clerical family is Mikael Agricola. By 1550 Agricola had married one Birgitta Olofsdotter. Her background is unknown. In 1550 she gave birth to a son and their only child known to have survived infancy, Kristian. Ordained a pastor in 1572, Kristian then studied in Wittenberg and Leipzig until his return to Finland in 1577. Then, like his father, he served as rector of the Turku Cathedral School and a member of the revived cathedral chapter. In 1583, King John III named him bishop of Reval. He served there until his death in 1586.[38] With the removal of priestly celibacy, the clergy became an estate like the nobility and the peasantry in which status, wealth, and social capital could be passed to future generations within a family.

The king's confiscation of ecclesiastical income has created an assumption in the scholarship that the clerical estate became completely immiserated during Gustav's reign. Many if not most clergymen did not live on ecclesiastical income alone.[39] Few if any entered the clergy from the lowest ranks of society. Many came out of the *frälse*, the burghers, or the wealthier peasantry and thus had inherited wealth.[40] Many members of the clergy were able to take advantage of the right to reclaim ecclesiastical property. Thus, they were able to compensate for their loss of income as clerics by claiming land donated by their ancestors.[41]

Gustav's takeover of church property did not affect clergymen's ability to continue to pursue private business interests, even foreign trade. Long before Gustav's reign, clergymen used the illicit institution of peasant sailing to trade with others in circumvention of laws that restricted seaborne trade to those cities that had royal charters for that purpose. As vicar of the parish of Helsinki in the early 1530s, Petrus Ragvaldi conducted trade with Reval.[42] In

37 "Wenne, Martinus Johannis (K noin 1577)," in *Turun hüppakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=2653 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016); "Wenne, Laurentius Johannis (K luultavasti 1587)," in *Turun hüppakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=2652 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

38 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 122; "Agricola, Christianus Michaelis (1550–1586)," in *Turun hüppakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=33 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

39 Anthoni, *Frälse*, 295.

40 Anthoni, *Frälse*, 295.

41 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 128–129; Pirinen, *Kirkkoreduktio*, 24.

42 Tapio Salminen, *Vantaan ja Helsingin pitäjän historia* (Keuruu: Otava, 2013) 335, 338–339, 378, 539–542.

a document that historians date to sometime in the 1540s, the burghers of Turku complained to the king about "all of the peasants and pastors who live in Uusimaa [who] themselves have ships that they sail to Reval or other cities in Germany with merchandise. In the winter, they go out from Uusimaa and around all of Häme and they bring salt from village to village. And they make large land purchases which run counter to Our Grace's privilege and confirmation letter which His Grace's Majesty has given us."[43] In a separate grievance from the same time, the burghers of Vyborg composed a list of those involved in illegal trade. On the list are the vicars of Virolahti and Vehkalahti.[44] The historian Gunvor Kerkkonen has charted the business dealings of pastors in places in southern Finland, such as Espoo (Esbo), Helsinki, and Porvoo, with merchants of Reval. Peasant sailing was not limited to the coast areas of southern Finland, so it would have been possible for clergymen to engage in this kind of trade elsewhere in the diocese.[45]

Many clergymen relied on still other sources of income. Some members of the clergy received patronage from the king.[46] In 1544 Martinus Skytte received control of the prebend of St. John from the king.[47] In 1547 Gustav Vasa gave Mikael Agricola the real estate in Turku known as the vicar's garden in 1547, damaged by fire in the previous year.[48] In the same year, he granted Mikael Agricola the dean's yard (*prostgård*), a prebend in the city of Turku.[49] Some members of the clergy could and did still join the ranks of the *frälse*. In 1536 King Gustav made a canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Anders Jacobi, a member of the *frälse* by declaring one of his landholdings as tax-free. Jacobi received this land for his participation in diplomatic missions to Russia for the king.[50] Clergymen were not forbidden to continue to charge fees for the performance of services, such as funerals, baptisms, and marriages. The medieval tradition of giving offerings to one's local pastor, like other medieval traditions, likely did not immediately die out entirely either.

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43 A. I . Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 278.

44 *HFH*, vol. 6, 292–293.

45 Gunvor Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel på Finska viken: Kustbors handel och sjöfart under medeltid och äldsta Wasatid* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1959).

46 See chapter four.

47 *HFH*, vol. 7, 134.

48 *KGR*, vol. 6, 151–152; *KGR*, vol. 18, 803–804.

49 *KGR*, vol. 18, 803–804.

50 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 11 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1888), 128–129.

Evidence of personal wealth among at least a significant segment of the clergy is seen in the tens of testaments left by members of the clergy. Before Gustav's reign, the bequests of priests primarily went to the church. From the first years of his reign, Gustav replaced the church for the Crown as the clergy's chief benefactor. The testaments bequeathed such items as foreign and or domestic coins, precious metals, and land holdings. In 1531 the Crown received from the estate of the deceased the vicar of Korsholm twenty-nine Hungarian gulden, seven English gold coins, one Rhenish gulden, three gold rings, five silver tankards, three gold goblets, and later one hundred marks.[51] In the same year, a bailiff received four Hungarian gulden from a deceased clergyman in the area around Hämeenlinna.[52] In 1539 the Crown took two silver chalices from the deceased vicar of Isokyrö (Storkyrö) as well as a silver chalice and two Hungarian gulden from the deceased vicar of Nagu (Nauvo). One might assume that, as Gustav's confiscation of the clergy's revenue streams progressed, income from these testaments would decline or disappear entirely. In the 1540s, the deaths of members of the cathedral chapter, such as Petrus Sild, Jakob Blome, and Martinus Teit yielded dividends of precious metals.[53] In the 1550s, the king was still receiving bequests of precious metals. During the last decade of Gustav's rule, the king's bailiffs took parts of the bequests of at least eleven clergymen.[54]

Over the course of Gustav's reign, clergymen increasingly appear to have included the king as a benefactor. In 1546 Vicar Mårten Friis in Hämeenkyrö (Tavastkyrö) bequeathed his farm to Gustav Vasa "to demonstrate the gratefulness for the good office he received."[55] Friis did not name any other beneficiaries, but many likely made specific mention of the king in their wills as a preemptive measure to protect anyone else to whom they wished to leave property. For example, in January 1551 Gustav Vasa gave Martinus Skytte his approval for his will. The king might not have known that Skytte died while the will was in the

51 KA Voudintilit 1538–1610: 4539: 6r, 16r, 50r; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 239.

52 KA Voudintilit 1538–1610: 4530: 5v; Kauko Pirinen, "Pappien omaisuus ja perintö keskiajalla ja uskonpuhdistusaikana: Oikeushistoriallinen selvitys erityisesti Suomen kirkon oloja silmällä pitäen," in *Ramus virens: In honorem Aarno Maliniemi*, ed. Keijo Astala (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1952), 239; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 239.

53 Pirinen, "Pappien omaisuus," 240–41.

54 Leinberg, *Finska kyrkan*, 10–11.

55 K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892), 6–7.

mail to the king. Gustav approved a will that gave him seven thousand Swedish marks and five silver tankards. Having paid off the king, Skytte was able to leave some money for relatives and for the support of Finnish students abroad.[56] In the 1550s several clergymen appealed to the king asking for relief or at least some predictability when it came to this virtual inheritance tax arguing that they needed to make accommodations for their wives and children. This appeal is the first suggestion of a significant married clergy in Finland, some fifteen to twenty years after celibacy had been formally abolished.[57]

Despite the confiscation of ecclesiastical incomes, the transfers of wealth from clergymen after their deaths to the king suggest that many clergymen had other significant sources of wealth. Gustav's confiscation of the church's property might have rested not only on his understanding of the church's wealth as a corporate body, but also on his understanding of the personal wealth of clergymen. The implicit assumption in the scholarship that emphasizes the loss of tax and rents by the church and individual clergymen needs to be placed in the context of the clergymen's personal wealth. Not all clergymen probably had Hungarian guldens to counteract royal confiscations, but the evidence suggests that this wealth was widespread enough to have prevented many clergymen from becoming impoverished in a way that the loss of tax and rent income might suggest.

The Diocese of Turku—The Kingdom's Peaceful Quarter?

Both royal and Lutheran reform contributed to the outbreak of several large violent revolts in the western half of the kingdom, such as the rebellions in Dalarna 1524–1533, the Västergötland uprising in 1529, and Nils Dacke's rebellion in 1542–1543.[58] The kingdom east of the Gulf of Bothnia did not experience rebellions remotely as large. The sources suggest three possible and

56 KA Voudintilit 1538–1610: 530: 6; *KGR*, vol. 12, 105, J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 24 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1906), 538; Pirinen, "Pappien omaisuus," 241–242.

57 Leinberg, *Finska kyrkan*, 10–11; Pirinen, "Pappien omaisuus," 242.

58 Berntson, *Kloster och reformationen*, 11; Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933), 298-205; Kimmo Katajala, *Suomalainen kapina: Talonpoikaislevottomuudet ja poliittinen kulttuuri Suomessa Ruotsin ajalla* (Helsinki: SKS, 2002), 158–168; Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 59–91, 131–138.

complimentary factors for the relative tranquility in Finland. The first was that the confiscation of ecclesiastical wealth was less widely felt in Finland than elsewhere in the kingdom. The church owned much less land in Finland than in areas west of the Gulf of Bothnia. The king's confiscation of precious metals occurred later in the king's reign compared to the rest of the kingdom and evidence suggests that the king took comparatively less. Gustav's much more visible and more aggressive confiscation of the church's property west of the gulf raised concerns among opponents of any reform of the church, thus contributing to the outbreak of the revolts mentioned. Second, the ecclesiastical leadership in Finland during Gustav's reign as a group tended to implement an even slower and limited approach to reform of teaching and practice than leaders in the Swedish kingdom's other six dioceses.

A third and overlooked reason for tranquility was the persistent threat of attack from Russia during Gustav's reign. The Russian threat was a constant source of concern for Gustav and for those in Finland who corresponded with the king.[59] The Russian threat encouraged the king, Finland's elites, and Finland's freeholding peasantry to avoid protracted organized conflict among themselves. The Russian threat loomed over the only known organized rebellion in Finland during Gustav's reign, Maunu Nyrhi's rebellion in the parish of Lappee in 1551–1553. In this parish, local peasant leader Maunu Nyrhi organized a tax strike. Like peasants elsewhere in Finland, the peasants of Lappee long had complained about increases in the duties that they had to perform to house and feed royal officials and judges in addition to increases in taxes. A theft by the local judge of the local church's valuables ignited the revolt. This relatively small rebellion, occurring in a border area with Russia, became such a serious matter to King Gustav that he called the rebels and the local judge to Stockholm for questioning. The king decided in favor of his judge. The rebellion continued until Nyrhi and one other rebel were executed.[60]

59 G. O. Berg, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 19 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1901), 353–354; KGR, vol. 24, 434–436; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1875), 154–155; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 16 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1895), 137–138.

60 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1849), 175–183; Eino Jutikkala, *Suomen talonpojan historia*, 2nd ed. (Helsinki: SKS, 1958), 95; Katajala, *Suomalainen kapina*, 168–179. Kimmo Katajala, "Rahvas esivallan vastassa," in *Viipurin läänin historia*, vol. 3, *Suomenlahdelta Laatokalle*, ed. Kimmo Katajala et al. (Lappeenranta: Karjalan kirjapaino, 2010), 107–112. Kauko Pirinen, "Lappeen talonpoikaiskapina Vv. 1551–1553," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 37 (1939): 38–52.

Gustav's royal reform encountered some passive and individual forms of resistance. The king's assumption of the church's taxes led many to withhold payment of church taxes. On several occasions between 1528 and 1538, Gustav commanded his subjects in Finland to pay their church taxes, in one instance using Christ's command of rendering unto Caesar what was Caesar's.[61] Those refusing to pay taxes probably concluded that, since the church's taxes were now largely going to the king, they did not need to pay the king both church and royal taxes. In an undated document, most likely drawn up in sometime in the years 1550–1556, several unnamed clergymen in the diocese listed their grievances to the king. One of them was that the king's heavy hand in taking the bequests of dead pastors created a situation in which "peasants are being made unwilling to place their children in school, and Christianity will not be well served. The common people in many areas have decided that they will not do anything that appears that priests cannot use their rights [of inheritance] to benefit their children or their family."[62] In the diocese, the people had concluded that only so much of their resources would go to the Crown, even if it meant damaging their children's education. They wanted the clergy to use their payments to the clergy.

In the same undated document, the clergy complained that it was collecting the tithe for the king and receiving nothing in return. The clergy suggested that the king appoint others to collect the tithe, "because it would mean less expenses for us poor men [the clergy]." The clergymen complained about having to travel long distances to complete their duties. They complained about having to take a disproportionate number of troops for quartering and having to provide the barrels and oxen for transporting taxes for the king.[63] For the clergy, the problem was that they were now being asked to do something for which they were receiving little or no compensation. If one wants to stretch the document's evidentiary potential a bit more, one might conclude that the clergy experienced a blow to its collective sense of social status. It was doing the job of mere bailiffs.

Gustav's actions toward the church's property, its land in particular, encouraged others to seize property as well. The decisions made at Västerås concerning the church's lands unleashed a wave of land grabs, sales, and exchanges. In 1528, 1530, 1533, 1536, and 1538, Gustav Vasa issued to Finland decrees forbidding any new sales, trades, or pawning of ecclesiastical lands without his

61 *FMU*, vol. 8, 324; J. J. Nordström, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 5 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1871), 154–155; *KGR*, vol. 12, 49–50.

62 Leinberg, *Finska kyrkan*, 10–11.

63 Leinberg, *Finska kyrkan*, 10–11.

permission.[64] While Gustav got effective control over the disposition of church lands by the 1540s, the struggles continued well into the 1550s. Jakob Teit wrote for Gustav Vasa a registry of crimes and delinquent behaviors that he encountered in Finland in the years 1555–1556. Teit was sent in 1547 by Bishop Martinus Skytte to study at Wittenberg. He only got as far as Rostock, where war in Germany prevented him from traveling further. He studied at Rostock until 1549, then moving on to Wittenberg. He returned to Finland in 1552, he chose a career in the service of the Crown than the church. Teit's choice might have stemmed from his success as one of the few students to go to Wittenberg who received financial support from Gustav Vasa.[65] Teit's report portrays a land in which violence and tax evasion were rampant. For Teit, the biggest threat to domestic peace were the "large land purchases" by nobles, bailiffs, pastors, and merchants from poor peasants at less than the land's real value.[66]

The details of Teit's claims have attracted critical attention from scholars. In his examination of Teit's career Petri Karonen uncovers Teit's proclivity to advance his career by telling the king what he wanted to hear. According to Kauko Pirinen, although the open season on the church's property created an atmosphere for unlawful acts, Teit exaggerated the level of illegality. The vast majority of the nobility's confiscations was based on the legal decisions made in Västerås in 1527 and further precedents established by the king. The king later took some of the lands wrongly taken by the nobility. He granted amnesty to other noble land grabs.[67] These limitations on Teit's register do not diminish its validity in illuminating the broad patterns of activities surrounding the questions of church land and resources.

In the first comprehensive study of Gustav Vasa's confiscations published in 1869, Hans Forssell concluded that "the estates of prebends became the houses of burghers; the old magazines of the cathedral were now maintained by royal bailiffs. The rent-delivering common people were no longer received by the brother of the household with peaceful blessings. The county courts were now freed of the endless land disputes between temporal authorities and the industrious agents of the church. The priestly population almost disappeared from the seat cities of the dioceses. When one could once encounter a monk

64 *FMU*, vol. 8, 268–269, 324; Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1877), 213; *KGR*, vol. 11, 124–125, *KGR*, vol. 12, 47–48; Aarre Läntinen, *Turun keskiaikainen piispanpöytä* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1978), 222.

65 Petri Karonen, "Teit, Jakob (K 1596)," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/3805/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

66 Grotenfelt, *Jaakko Teitin valitusluettelo*, 309;

67 Karonen, "Teit, Jakob (K 1596);" Pirinen, "Kirkkoreduktio," 23–29.

or canon on every street corner, one now saw scores of industrious deacons rushing from the school cabin to the clerk's office."[68] Through the processes of statebuilding and Lutheran reform, the society of the Swedish kingdom was transformed.

68 Hans Forssell, *Sveriges inre historia från Gustaf I med särskildt afseende på förvaltning och ekonomi*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1869), 179.

CHAPTER 6

The Vernacular Reformation

According to widespread popular and scholarly understandings, theological questions concerned Gustav Vasa only as far as they affected his ability to rule. The king was not a learned theologian and thus was ill-equipped to enter the debates concerning reform of the church's teachings and rituals. Nonetheless, Gustav wanted a church that practiced a simpler form of Christianity. Throughout his reign, Gustav called for the proclamation of what he and called in Västerås in 1527 "the pure Word of God." This call, one originating from Lutheran reformers, in exact or similar wording was used in several resolutions of various meetings concerning the future of the church during the king's reign.[1] The king eventually gravitated toward Lutheran reform because of its own aim to make Christianity simpler.

In an often-factionalized theological environment, religious authorities and the king agreed in making Christianity simpler by making the Mass and scripture available to the people in its own language. Vernacularization was the common ground of reform of the church's teachings and practices. The consensus concerning use of the vernacular bridged the church's doctrinal and liturgical divisions for decades. Gustav Vasa's son, King John III (1569–1592), sought to reunite his kingdom's church with Rome in the 1570s and 1580s. The deal ultimately failed for a handful of reasons, among them Johan's refusal to return to the Latin Mass.[2] Long before the Swedish kingdom's church became irrevocably Lutheran in the 1590s, it had become irrevocably vernacular.

The process of translating the Word of God into the vernacular had a significant impact on the kingdom's two most spoken languages. Swedish had a pre-Reformation medieval literary tradition that did not extend much into the spiritual realm. Finnish for its part had no pre-Reformation literary tradition. As a literary language, Finnish is understood to have started in the Reformation era. Its chief creator was Mikael Agricola.

1 Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Alin, eds., *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 118, 390; Sven Kjöllerström, *Missa Lincopensis: En liturgihistorisk studie* (Stockholm: Lund, 1941); Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 285–298.

2 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 78.

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Mikael Olofsson Agricola

Very little of Agricola's considerable body of literary work is autobiographical. According to Paulus Juusten, Agricola was born in Torsby, a village in the parish of Pernå (Pernaja) in the region of Uusimaa. The exact year of Agricola's birth is unknown, but by tracking backwards from later milestones in his life, historians estimate his birth sometime in or around 1510. Little is known about Agricola's parents. The name of his mother is unknown. His father, Olof, was a peasant (as his son's adopted surname suggests) who died sometime in the early 1540s, leaving behind his wife, son Mikael, and three daughters.[3] One of the few scholarly debates concerning Agricola has centered over whether he spoke Finnish or Swedish as his first language. Evidence in favor of Swedish is that he grew up in Torsby, a predominantly Swedish-speaking village, but a village probably with Finnish speakers within it and certainly majority Finnish-speaking villages nearby. Agricola wrote marginal comments in Swedish and not Finnish in books that he bought. Evidence in favor of Finnish is Agricola's obvious fluent command of Finnish, a command so masterful that he could create a literary language. In the nineteenth and into the twentieth century scholars, informed by the growth of nationalism based on the Finnish language, largely believed that Agricola's first language had to be Finnish because of Agricola's fluency and the assumption that no Swedish speaker would care enough to put the Word of God into Finnish. This debate over the last couple of decades has settled into the conclusion that no definitive proof exists for either position. The most recent contributions to this discussion have come from Agricola's biographer, Simo Heininen, and linguist Kaisa Häkkinen, who both have argued that the question of Agricola's language is secondary to his achievements. Even if Agricola's first language were Swedish (and they both suggest it likely was), it would put him in at the beginning of a long tradition of Swedish speakers who worked to develop Finnish as a literary language.[4]

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3 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 59.

4 Kaisa Häkkinen, "Mikael Agricolan teokset ja kieli," in *Agricolan aika*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 84–102; Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word: Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: SKS, 2015), 32–33; Simo Heininen, *Nuori Mikael Agricola* (Helsinki: SKS, 1976), 95–96; Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita Prima, 2007), 26. A full survey of the debate up to Heininen's and Häkkinen's most recent work is found in Osmo Ikola "Agricolan äidinkieli," in *Mikael Agricolan äidinkieli*, ed. Esko Koivusalo (Heksinki: SKS, 1988), 25–68. For another view of the collective memory concerning Agricola see Otfried Czaika, "Det kollektiva minnet av reformationen och Mikael Agricola i 2000-talets Finland," *Biblis* 46 (2009): 15–25.

The historians of much of the twentieth century saw Agricola largely as a forerunner of modern Finnish nationalism and national identity. Jaakko Gummerus's biography of Agricola in 1908 set the national understanding of Agricola that would be followed for generations. According to Gummerus, "we can perhaps say that in Agricola's nature there are features that endear him to us, because we recognize in them something particularly Finnish. Such [features] as modesty, quiet introspection, a tendency to look at everything from a pedagogical standpoint, and why not that often manifesting melancholy tinged with irritability, out of which arises a resolute decision to do what one can to struggle ahead in difficult conditions without giving up hope when little hope appears to exist."[5] In a popular biography of Agricola published in 1944, Olavi Tarvainen explicitly upheld Gummerus's national understanding of Agricola. Tarvainen expounded on Gummerus's view that Agricola's practice of Christianity foreshadowed the rise of Finland's pietist movements in the nineteenth century.[6] In a comprehensive scholarly history of Finland´s church published in 1948 Ilmari Salomies repeated Gummerus's thesis.[7] Without explicitly mentioning Gummerus, Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen wrote in 1960 in his scholarly survey of Finland's sixteenth century, "in Agricola's personality there is something Finnish in the best meaning of the word. Modesty combined with exceptional erudition. In a way demonstrating loyalty and love, he in many matters great and small aimed to serve his people and church. Typically Finnish is his untiring fortitude, by which in avoiding haughty appearances and fiery programmatic statements he built something new in a time of storm to replace what had collapsed."[8]

More recently, Agricola has been placed in two transnational contexts. In the 1980s, Kari Tarkiainen completed his grandfather's manuscript into a comprehensive biography that understands Agricola primarily in the context of the Swedish kingdom.[9] Meanwhile, Simo Heininen has placed Agricola in a European context, proclaiming him "a pupil of Erasmus and Luther."[10] All of

5 Jaakko Gummerus, *Mikael Agricola* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1908), 104.

6 Olavi Tarvainen, *Heränny ennen heränneitä: Tutkielma Mikael Agricolan kristillisyydennäkemyksestä* (Turku: Aura, 1944), 98.

7 Ilmari Salomies, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 2 (Helsinki: Otava, 1949), 110–114.

8 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 156.

9 Viljo Tarkiainen and Kari Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola: Suomen uskonpuhdistaja* (Helsinki: Otava, 1985).

10 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 22; Simo Heininen, *Turun piispat: Pyhästä Henrikistä Mikko Juvaan* (Helsinki: Edita, 2008), 59; Simo Heininen, "Agricola, Mikael (noin 1510–1557) Turun piispa, reformaattori, raamatunsuomentaja," http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/14/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016);

these contexts, if not held exclusively one from the others, help explain Agricola. He dedicated himself to the cultivation of the Finnish language and its cultural heritage. His devotion was driven by his acceptance of Lutheran reform, not Finnish nationalism. He loyally served the Swedish king and operated in a kingdom in which cultivation of vernacular languages was encouraged. Agricola, like many other of the diocese's reformers of the time, had his own direct connections and experiences with European centers of learning. Thus, Agricola was Finnish, Swedish, European, and Lutheran. The Europe before the age of modern nationalism did not demand the prioritization of communal loyalties.

Agricola attended his first school in Vyborg. His success in reaching school stemmed from both his intellectual talents and his father's sufficient financial means. In 1528 young Agricola moved to Turku with his teacher, Johannes Erasmusson, to serve in the administration of the new bishop, Martinus Skytte. After Erasmusson died in 1529, Agricola took his position as the bishop's chancellor. According to Juusten, "because he at the same time had adopted the basics of the correct apostolic doctrine from Master Petrus Särkilahti's teaching and sermons, he was ordained to the clergy. He preached diligently both in Turku Cathedral and on episcopal visitations, so that he gave many a reason to hope, that he would become a useful and indispensable instrument for the building of the congregation."[11]

In the fall of 1536, Agricola left for studies in Wittenberg with another student from the diocese, Martinus Teit. Traveling in pairs to a foreign university followed a tradition from the medieval era. Agricola twice wrote letters, once in 1537 and again in 1538, to Gustav Vasa asking him for economic help.[12] No evidence suggests that king answered either letter. The letters do afford insights into Agricola's understanding of his own long-term mission as a clergyman. In both letters, he emphasized his work on translating the New Testament into Finnish. He also extolled the benefits of having subjects knowledgeable in the Word of God for the success of the kingdom as a temporal institution. In his first letter to the king, Mikael Agricola wrote in reference to his own activities, "it is honorable, righteous, and reasonable to assist the efforts of people of little means, who do not pursue their own interests, but rather the benefit of the state. Nothing is more beautiful or enhances the activity of a great prince more than the giving of help in every honorable, useful, and immediate matter to those, who with every effort try to advance the tranquility of the kingdom, the success

11 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 59; Heininen, *Elämä ja teokset* 25.

12 Letters published in Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 293–301; also in A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 153–156, 161–163.

of the church, and the spreading of God's name and honor."[13] Mikael Agricola understood already that success in his ambitious pastoral mission required the king's support. The king by this time had either confiscated or heavily controlled most of the church's economic resources. The king regulated the publication activity of the kingdom's only publishing house. If he had any hope of gaining royal support for his religious reforming activities, Agricola had to convince Gustav Vasa that those activities would advance the king's statebuilding agenda.

In the spring of 1539, Agricola completed his studies and returned to the Swedish kingdom with Martinus Teit and Georg Norman. They carried back to Sweden a letter for Gustav Vasa by Martin Luther. In the letter Luther called Agricola "young, but excellent in terms of learning, natural talent, and manners, and who might be of the greatest benefit for Your Majesty."[14] After returning to Finland, Agricola took the position of rector of the Cathedral School in Turku. This followed medieval tradition by which the most recent returnee from university study would assume the rector's job and the position of canon in the cathedral chapter.[15]

Often Agricola is referred to as "Finland's reformer." Agricola's activities do not correspond to commonly understood definitions of a reformer in sixteenth-century Europe. Reformer generally implies a heroic, transformative leader in the vanguard of breaking down the old order, such as Luther, Calvin, or even Olaus Petri. Juusten's chronicle entry aside, few clues illuminate Agricola's involvement in advancing Lutheran reform in the Swedish kingdom for the first decade of his activity as a clergyman. By the time Agricola returned to Finland in 1539, change was well underway. Agricola's work in translating the Word of God into Finnish occurred at a time when others were engaged in the same work. The term reformer generally connotes someone who engaged in detailed theological argument. No evidence exists to suggest that Agricola produced any original theological writings. His known written works are translations of religious works and compilations of extant materials for a Finnish-speaking audience. The only sources that shed some light on Agricola's thought consist of the introductions and marginal comments in his published works, which consist of about two percent of the 2,500 pages of Agricola's combined works. Even here, Agricola's views of Christian teaching are very general and practical rather than specific and speculative.[16] Agricola's reputation as a reformer lies in his ability to actually

13 *HFH*, vol. 6, 161–163.

14 Victor Granlund, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 12 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1890), 294–295.

15 Simo Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Edita, 1996), 69.

16 Juhani Holma, *Sangen ialo rucous: Schwenckfeldiläisten rukouskirja Mikael Agricolan lähteenä* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2008), 45–46.

publish his translations of sacred texts into Finnish and hold various high ecclesiastical offices from the end of the 1520s until his death in 1557.

"Learn Now, Old and Young:" Mikael Agricola and the Word of God in Finnish

Even though Agricola was not the first to attempt to translate the Word of God into Finnish, he was by far the most successful among the early reformers for two reasons. First, he got his works published and distributed. This was not particularly easy, since in Agricola's time there was only one publishing house in the Swedish kingdom—that run by Amund Laurentsson in Stockholm. Laurentsson only published books permitted by the king. Publishing was not a widespread activity in the Swedish kingdom. Over the course of the sixteenth century, some six hundred books were published in the Swedish kingdom. In German-speaking Europe, some 110,000 works were published. The population of German-speaking Europe was about ten times that of Sweden, but it produced over 183 times as many books, so the difference cannot be explained in terms of demography.[17]

Second, Agricola understood the need to establish Finnish as comprehensive a written language as possible in order for it to survive as an ecclesiastical language. It was not enough to just to translate the Mass as had been done by those associated with the Westh Codex. Often Agricola is compared to Olaus Petri, the driving force in translating the Word of God into Swedish. The two men introduced the vernacular into the church from two fundamentally different points of departure. Swedish already had a long written literary tradition. Swedish was a language of written communication. There was a tradition of writing sacred texts as well, such as Jöns Budde's work in the fifteenth century.[18] Putting the Word of God formally into Swedish expanded the scope of an already existing literary language. For his part, Agricola was introducing a written language that did not have a previously established environment for use. For Finnish to succeed and survive as a language of religious activity, it had to be made relevant to other parts of human activity.

17 The numbers cited for German-speaking Europe come from the database *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (VD 16) by the Bavarian State Library http://www.bsb-muenchen.de/index.php?id=1681&type=0 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016). For Sweden the numbers come from Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, vols. 1–3 (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927–1933).

18 Marko Lamberg, *Jöns Budde: Birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007).

Even though only a small percentage of the population was literate, Agricola understood that the written language would be read to the illiterate, and thus must be recognizable to the masses. Agricola based his written Finnish on the dialect spoken around Turku, where most of the population lived. His understanding that he was creating a new written language is exemplified by his first publication, a spelling primer (*Abckiria*) for Finnish, which also served as a catechism. Agricola's primer opens with the command, "learn now, young and old, who have a pure heart, God's commands and mind, which you can express in the Finnish language. The law troubles the soul, but Christ comforts it again. Read good child this introductory lesson without hindrance. Remember these lessons always, and Jesus will always grant His mercy."[19]

Like many aspects of Finland's Reformation, the quality of existing primary sources concerning Agricola's work is not ideal. No complete copy of the spelling primer has survived. It was long believed that no copies of it survived until 1851, when the first eight pages of the primer were discovered in the university library in Uppsala inside the cover of another book. In 1904, two fragments from the first and fourth pages were found in the Chamber Archives (now in the National Archives) in Stockholm. The final four pages were found in 1966 in the diocesan library in Västerås. Studies of the documents over the generations have produced a consensus concerning the dating of the primer. The first printing of the primer is believed to have occurred in 1543 and is in any case considered Agricola's first book. A second and third printing of the primer occurred in 1551 and 1559 respectively.[20]

The primer starts with an analysis of the alphabet. Agricola divides letters into four categories: vowels, diphthongs (with pronunciation guide), consonants, and so-called "foreign" letters, three of which actually are very Finnish letters—ö, ä, and y—and ij, which is understood as the common double-i in modern Finnish. Agricola's determination of various Finnish letters as foreign and vice versa (he listed several foreign consonants, such as b and z, as Finnish) suggests that Agricola was heavily dependent on foreign models in creating this part of the primer.[21] The rest of the primer consists of material that belonged to most catechisms of the time: the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Our Father, and the Hail Mary. It offers explanations of baptism, confession, and the Eucharist, as well as prayers for meals, the morning, and bedtime. It concludes with the numbers one through eighteen written out

19 Kaisa Häkkinen, ed., *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 1.

20 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 164–165.

21 Kaisa Häkkinen, "Suomen kieli Mikael Agricolan Abckirjassa," in *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 62*–92*.

in Finnish.[22] The several direct quotations from the Bible would appear again in Agricola's publication of the full New Testament. Most of the catechistic material for this work was borrowed from catechisms written by Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and Andreas Ossiander. Agricola's borrowing was not verbatim and he provided many of his own innovations. In the Apostolic Creed, he referred to the church as "Christian" rather than "Catholic" in the way of the German catechisms. He put in his primer prayers for the ringing of bells, a medieval tradition not recognized in any of the German Lutheran catechisms.[23] Agricola's eclectic approach to his catechism suggests his willingness to exploit the freedom that he enjoyed in his position outside of the centers of reformational authority.

God Hears Finnish Prayers

Agricola further demonstrated his eclectic approach to creating sacred texts in Finnish in his prayer book (*Rucouskirja*) of 1544. This book, with 678 prayers and 887 pages, is unique among prayer books of its time in both its size and breadth of sources used. Of all of the prayers in the book, the largest number, 220, came from the medieval *Missale Aboense* (1488). Juhani Holma's study of the prayer book uncovers the strong influence of the Schwenckfeld movement on Mikael Agricola in the formulation of his prayer book. Luther's followers condemned this movement as heretical even before Agricola went to Wittenberg to study in the 1530s. The prayer book of the Schwenckfeld movement, *Bekantnus der Sünden*, provided forty-six prayers for Agricola's book, making it the second largest source of prayers. Agricola translated thirty-eight prayers from Erasmus's prayer book of 1535, yet another example of Agricola's willingness to go beyond only safe Lutheran sources. Despite his eclectic approach, Agricola signaled that he indeed was a Lutheran reformer. The prayers tied to saints' days had all references to their intercessory agency and merit eliminated from them.[24] For Agricola, the importance of the prayer book lay in the believers' ability to communicate with God in Finnish. Agricola emphasized to the clergy the importance of using the vernacular in prayer by stating *"Kylle se cwle Somen kielen, ioca ymerdä Caikein mielen."* Literally this has been understood

22 Häkkinen, *Abckiria*, 1–24.

23 Simo Heininen, "Abckirian sisältö ja lähteet," in *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 42*–61*.

24 Holma, *Sangen ialo rucous*, 39, 191–200.

in English as "He [God] who hears the Finnish language call understands the mind of all," In other words, God hears and understands Finnish prayers.[25]

Like the spelling primer, the prayer book has both sacred and profane elements. The book opens with an almanac-style calendar common in medieval prayer books. It lists saints' days and marks the periods of fasts. The presence of fasts and the plethora of saints' days suggest that Agricola was not that interested in reforming these parts of the church, at least at that moment. Similarly, in the spirit of medieval holism, the religious calendar addresses more profane activities, above all, agriculture. The calendar describes what agricultural activities are performed in which months. The calendar lists various herbs and how they should be consumed. This calendar should be used with great caution as a guide to agriculture and food culture in sixteenth-century Finland. Agricola refers to many imported herbs not widely available. He wrote about the cultivation of grapes, something not possible in sixteenth-century Finland. Agricola borrowed from extant calendars, some of them produced in more southern parts of Europe.[26]

The New Testament and the Old Testament Books

In 1548 Agricola completed his best-known work, a Finnish edition of the New Testament. It embodied the characteristics of Agricola's previous works in method and content. In the introduction, Agricola revealed that he used sources in Greek, Latin, German, and Swedish for his translation.[27] He included in the introduction of the New Testament useful information about Finland. He discusses Finland's history and political geography by describing the spread of Christianity to Finland by St. Eric and St. Henry in the twelfth century. Agricola does not frame the expansion of the Swedish Crown across the Gulf of Bothnia as some kind of unwelcome conquest, but rather as a necessity to Christianize the country. Agricola goes on to list the various regions or historical provinces of Finland: Finland

25 Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 1 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 91; Kai Laitinen and George C. Schoolfield, "New Beginnngs, Latin and Finnish," in *A History of Finland's Literature*, ed. George C. Schoolfield (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 34.

26 Terttu Lempiäinen, "Agricola yrtit—Vanhin suomenkielinen dokumentti mauste- ja lääkekasveista," in *Agricolan aika*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 48–83.

27 Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 2 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 15; Simo Heininen, "Mikael Agricolan käyttämä reformatorinen kirjallisuus," in *Reformaatio: Henkilökuvia ja tutkimussuuntia*, ed. Joona Salminen (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 2008), 175–179.

Proper, Satakunta, Häme, Karelia, Uusimaa, Raseborg, and Ostrobothnia.[28] This introductory, non-scriptural material makes an argument for the wider relevance of Finnish as a written language for a people with a past and space of its own.

Like Olaus Petri, Agricola intended to use the published the New Testament as a basis for publishing the entire Bible in Finnish. Even though Agricola ultimately lacked the necessary money and time to reach his goal, he succeeded in publishing parts of the Old Testament. In 1551 he published a psalter in which Agricola asks the reader to "pray for those who translated these [psalms] into Finnish."[29] This statement raises the question of possible contributors to Agricola's works. In his chronicle, Paulus Juusten tells his version of his role in the making of the psalter:

> At this time, he [Agricola] published a psalter in Finnish. It was, however, entirely translated in the Turku school under the rectorship of Paulus Juusten. He had directed pupils to translate the Psalms to improve their style, just as one remembered blessed Doctor Luther doing so. He [Juusten] listened to and corrected their Finnish translations during the hours when pupils' assignments were usually accepted and corrected, often after dinner in his room. Nonetheless, it is not important in whose name they [the Psalms] are published, for it was translated so it could be of great benefit to the Finnish people.[30]

Juusten's passive-aggressive claim to authorship as well as Agricola's own admission suggests that Agricola received significant help for the psalter. Since Agricola held Juusten's position as rector of the Cathedral School until 1548, he would have been able to draw on the same skilled workforce as Juusten did for his earlier publications. Even if he failed to give due credit in some instances, Agricola provided the necessary leadership and vision for the translation of the Word of God into Finnish. He understood the need for royal favor for the publication of his translations. Unlike those associated with earlier translation attempts, he was able to get translations published. Agricola understood the significance of the printing press as an instrument of vernacularization. The unique dedication and understanding that Agricola brought to putting the Word of God into Finnish became evident after his death in 1557. For some twenty years thereafter, no new steps toward vernacularization were taken until Paulus Juusten published his own Mass in Finnish in the mid-1570s. A full Finnish Bible did not appear until 1642.

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28 Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 2, 17–19.

29 Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 3 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 214.

30 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 59–60.

TABLE 4 *Agricola's Works*

1543	*Abckiria* (spelling primer)
1544	*Rucouskiria Bibliasta* (prayer book)
1548	*Se Wsi Testamenti* (The New Testament)
1549	*Käsikirja Castesta ia muista Cristikunnan Menoista* (handbook)
1549	*Messu* (The Mass)
1549	*Se meiden herran Jesusen Christusen Pina* (Christ's passion)
1551	*Dauidin psalttari* (psalter)
1551	*Weisut ja Ennustoxet Moosesen Laista ja Prophetista Uloshaetut* (Hymns and Prophecies from the Books of Moses and the Prophets)
1552	*Ne prophetat* (the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi)

In the same year as the psalter, Agricola published another translation of parts of the Old Testament entitled *Weisut ia Ennustoxet Mosesen Laista ia Prophetista Wloshaetut* (Hymns and Prophecies from the Books of Moses and the Prophets). The book is a translation of parts of the Pentateuch as well as the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. It has parts of the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. The Book of Lamentations and the first nine of the twelve Minor Prophets are translated in their entirety. Agricola's inspiration for this digested version of the Old Testament came from Johannes Bugenhagen, who had a similar digest in his psalter.[31] Bugenhagen's work similarly inspired Agricola to publish a story of Christ's Passion in 1549 (*Se meiden herran Jesusen Christusen Pina*).[32] In the introduction of Hymns and Prophecies Agricola revealed his motivation for publishing this work. He concluded that he likely would not be able to translate the entire Bible, and this work would have to suffice. He stated in the introduction that "if we Finns do not get the entire Bible printed, because we are so poor, we will not fall into unbelief. Rather, I am taking from the Bible the best part of the hymns in the names of the holy prophets. In the same way that a bee seeks nectar and honey from an herb, this book follows the psalter as a roaring lion [follows his prey]."[33] In the next year, Agricola published *Ne Prophetat* (The Prophets) in 1552. This work was a translation of the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. These books were originally planned for inclusion in Hymns and Prophecies, but poor

31 Heininen, *Elämä ja teokset*, 306–308.

32 Heininen, *Elämä ja teokset*, 294–296.

33 Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 3, 438.

travel conditions prevented them from reaching Stockholm before Hymns and Prophecies went to press.[34]

"In This Way the Mass is Held in Finnish"

The Finnish Mass published in 1549 does not bear the name of any author. This lack of an author's name is in keeping with the medieval tradition of liturgical texts. For several reasons scholars do not doubt Agricola's authorship. In his psalter, Agricola claimed authorship of the Mass along with other works.[35] The Mass was published by Amund Laurentsson, the same publisher who printed Agricola's other works. In the diocese, only Agricola had the economic resources and social connections to get a book published at the kingdom's sole publishing house. Historian Anna Perälä has identified that the Mass contains many of the same illustrations used in previous and subsequent works by Agricola.[36]

Olaus Petri's Swedish Mass was the main source of inspiration for Agricola's liturgy. Petri's Mass in turn was based on Martin Luther's German Mass of 1529. The creation of a Finnish-language Mass by Agricola and others raises the question of possible difference from the Swedish Mass of Olaus Petri that was used in Finland's Swedish-speaking parishes. Jyrki Knuutila in his study of liturgical standardization in Finland has identified liturgical difference within and between Finland's language communities. These differences should not be exaggerated: Olaus Petri's Swedish Mass formed the basis for all known liturgical activity in the kingdom by the 1540s regardless of language. Both the authors of the Westh Codex from the 1530s and Agricola borrowed heavily from Petri's Swedish Mass. Knuutila points out three important ways in which Finnish-language masses from the 1540s distinguished themselves from Swedish-language liturgies. First, Finnish Masses retained more aspects of the medieval liturgy of the Turku diocese. The Finnish Masses maintained the pastor's response to the reading of the Gospel "glory be to you dear Lord" as well as the maintenance of processional prayers. Second, some parts of the Finnish masses corresponded more to liturgical changes in Germany than in Sweden. In Agricola's Mass, a call to communion follows the confession of sins. This

34 Heininen, *Elämä ja teokset*, 303.

35 Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 3, 209; Kaisa Häkkinen, ed., *Mikael Agricolan Messu* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2013), 20–26.

36 Anna Perälä, "Mikael Agricolan teosten painoasu ja kuvitus," in *Mikael Agricola: Abckiria: Kriittinen editio*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 10*–40*.

call was adapted from Luther's German Mass of 1526 and has no equivalent in other Finnish- or Swedish-language masses of the time. The Mass from the Westh Codex has a doxology with the Our Father, a component of German Reformation catechism literature from the 1530s and 1540s. The third distinguishing trait is the emphasis on using Finnish. The Swedish masses of the time offered at several junctures the option of using Swedish or Latin. Finnish masses did not offer the option to use Swedish, Latin, or any other language.[37]

In a wider context of European Protestantism, Agricola's Mass distinguishes itself by its lack of music. The omission of music might have been driven by the high cost of printing music. Even if he could easily publish music, no evidence suggests that Agricola had any significant training or interest in music. The musicologist Erkki Tuppurainen points out that the overall atmosphere for liturgical music in Agricola's time was not very positive. In their search for suitable covers for their account books, royal bailiffs raided music libraries in the kingdom's monasteries for heavy parchment. In some cases, manuscripts of liturgical music just disappeared. Monastic choirs and choristers similarly disappeared from many parishes.[38] In this environment, Agricola might not have seen much of a future for music in the liturgy.

Liturgical change in Finland, like the reform of other aspects of practice and belief, has been described uncritically as conservative.[39] The scholarship has been influenced in part from a long-running discourse in modern Finland about the country's backwardness compared to Sweden. The discourse ignores factors and developments that often make a Swedish standard of progress irrelevant to Finland. The liturgical development in the Diocese of Turku is a case in point. One should consider that the Diocese of Turku underwent a significant liturgical Reformation just before the rest of the kingdom did. Significant changes in the standardization and performance of the liturgy occurred just before the arrival of Lutheran reform with the publication of the *Missale Aboense* in 1488 and the *Manuale Aboense* in 1522. Considering that these changes occurred early in Agricola's own career, he and his contemporaries might not have felt the need to reform heavily what in many respects was already a new liturgical order. Moreover, "conservatism" does not explain the

37 Jyrki Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen Suomessa reformaatiokaudella 1537–1614," *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 77 (1987): 9–40.

38 Erkki Tuppurainen, "Westhin koodeksi reformaatioajan musiikin dokumenttina," in *Tutkimuksia Westhin koodeksista*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 2012), 29–42.

39 Knuutila, "Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen," 20; Olav Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland*, vol. 1 (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1946), 327.

innovations directly from German Reformation liturgies and the insistence on the Finnish language over Latin that distinguished both Finnish masses, and Agricola's in particular, from both the medieval Mass and Olaus Petri's Mass.

The Handbook

In 1549 Agricola published *Käsikiria Castesta ia muista Cristikunnan Menoista* (A handbook about baptism and other rituals of Christendom). For this work, Agricola borrowed heavily from similar works by Olaus Petri, Martin Luther, and Caspar Huberinus.[40] The book is his only one that offers glimpses into Agricola's views on the debates at the time concerning the sacraments. He argued strongly for the baptism of children. A newborn child is "possessed by the devil" who can then through baptism become "a child of God."[41] He echoes Luther's argument that baptism is God's gift of grace and thus does not need to be earned by age or professions of faith.[42] This argument for infant baptism is lifted loosely from Luther's *Taufbüchlein* from 1526. Such an argument does not exist in Olaus Petri's handbook of 1548 which otherwise serves as the primary basis for Agricola's handbook. This is again another example of how Agricola did not tie himself to one Lutheran thinker but rather availed himself of many available writings.[43] Agricola probably did not direct his argument for infant baptism against any Anabaptist movement in Finland or the Swedish kingdom—there is no evidence of one. Rather, he was arguing for infant baptism to people who did not practice it and or were uncertain about the practice in the new religious order.

Agricola accepted marriage as both a temporal tradition and divine act. He called marriage a "human decree, for which we spiritual and ecclesiastical servants have nothing to decree or impose."[44] Agricola then mentioned that marriage is "a divine decree confirmed in the Old and New Testament." Like the other reformers of the Swedish kingdom's church of his time Agricola maintained the sacramental nature of the marriage ceremony.[45] He roundly condemned priestly celibacy. Marriage according to Agricola was "bound by

40 Kaisa Häkkinen, ed., *Mikael Agricolan käsikirja* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 2011), 7–12.

41 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricolan Käsikirja*, 3.

42 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricolan Käsikirja*, 3.

43 Pentti Lempiäinen, *Kastekäytäntö Suomen kirkossa 1500-ja 1600-luvulla* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1965), 86.

44 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricolan Käsikirja*, 15.

45 Jyrki Knuutila, *Avioliitto oikeudellisena ja kirkollisena instituutiona Suomessa vuoteen 1629* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1990), 255–279.

the Word and promise of God and not invented or started by humans, unlike the wicked celibacy of monks and nuns."[46] Marriage should be open to all, regardless of vocation. Agricola criticized the "mockery" with which marriage ceremonies were treated.[47] Agricola's writing on marriage was one of only a few from Gustav Vasa's era. As Mia Korpiola points out, "reforming matrimony does not seem to be very high on the Swedish reformers' agenda, which may be a consequence of the inherent traditionalism of Swedish matrimonial law." The strong temporal traditions of marriage in the Swedish kingdom meant that relatively few actually had their marriage ceremony performed in a church. This probably helped take the kingdom's reformers' focus off marriage, unlike in Central Europe, where the sacramentality of marriage was a significant topic of discussion to Central European reformers.[48] The reform of marriage by Agricola and others was in the final analysis modest. They wanted to eliminate celibacy as a means of reducing sin. They wanted more people to marry within the church as a means of furthering their development as Christians. Agricola obviously understood that he was not going to eliminate medieval forms of temporal marriage; rather, he wanted the church to play a greater role in the marriage process as a means of improving morals.

The last part of Agricola's handbook gives advice concerning death and dying. In fact, over half of the handbook addresses these questions. Agricola gives detailed instructions on what kind of prayers the pastor should say with the dying person: prayers for forgiveness, professions of faith, and then the sharing of the Eucharist. Anointing of the sick is not included in these instructions. Agricola gives a worldlier bit of advice in that pastors should tell the dying to have a completed will.[49]

As in the case of marriage, funerals often did not include the church in the medieval Swedish kingdom. Neither Agricola nor Olaus Petri sought to change well-known ways of burial, but rather they wanted to include the church more into these events. Agricola is considered more traditional in terms of reforming medieval Christian burial ceremonies in that he was more open to prayers for the dead. Lutheran reformers in Germany emphatically opposed prayers for the dead in funerals. Funerals and their prayers were meant for the living. A funeral reminded the living of their mortality and the final judgment of God

46 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricolan Käsikirja*, 15.

47 Häkkinen, *Mikael Agricolan Käsikirja*, 15–28.

48 Mia Korpiola, "Lutheran Marriage Norms in Action: The Example of Post-Reformation Sweden 1520–1600," in *Lutheran Reformation and the Law*, ed. Virpi Mäkinen (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 131–169.

49 Häkkinen, ed., *Mikael Agricolan Käsikirja*, 29–80.

that all would have to face. Olaus Petri shared German Lutherans' rejection of prayers for the dead. Agricola maintained an opportunity for congregations to pray for the dead. One can agree with Olavi Rimpiläinen in his study of burial practices that Agricola's funeral service was for both the living and the dead.[50]

Resources for Agricola's Work

Agricola achieved his accomplishments with an extremely narrow base of the resources that writers need the most—time and money. Agricola put the Word of God into Finnish essentially as a part-time job, whether as Martinus Skytte's chancellor, a student at Wittenberg, a teacher in Turku, or as Skytte's adjunct. Agricola was never able to find a reliable income source for his translation work. Some popular understandings about Agricola's relationship to Gustav Vasa stem from the painting by Robert Wilhelm Ekman in 1853 depicting Agricola giving Gustav Vasa a copy of his Finnish New Testament. The event never happened.[51] Nothing in the sources suggests that Gustav ever gave Agricola any large grants or reimbursements for his translation work.[52] Agricola's request in 1543 for support from Georg Norman did not receive an answer.[53] In 1547 he wrote to Gustav's royal treasurer Nils Pedersson asking for support for his school and publication efforts, again without response.[54] Agricola's manuscripts became ready for print in the 1540s, the same decade in which Gustav moved strongly to take the diocese's property, thus depriving Agricola of possible revenue streams. Scholars have long presumed that Agricola received financial support from people within Finland in the form of testaments and charitable contributions, such as from Erik Fleming.[55] Considering Agricola's wide and close connections to elites, it is plausible that he received some donations, but no direct evidence supports the assumptions of charitable generosity.[56]

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50 Olavi Rimpiläinen, *Läntisen perinteen mukainen hautauskäytäntö Suomessa ennen isoavihaa*. (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1971), 147.

51 Heininen, *Elämä ja teokset*, 128–129.

52 Agricola's letter to royal treasury for reimbursement 27 March 1542, in Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola,* 305–306.

53 *HFH*, vol. 6, 254–258; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 306–311.

54 *HFH*, vol. 6, 266–270.

55 For example, Heininen, *Elämä ja teokset,* 360.

56 Anu Lahtinen, "Mikael Agricola aatelisvallan verkostoissa," in *Agricolan aika*, ed. Kaisa Häkkinen and Tanja Vaittinen (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007), 24–35.

While financial support from the king was meager, Gustav Vasa gave Agricola the most essential support needed for the publication of his works: he permitted their publication by Amund Laurentsson. In addition to possible royal grants and outside gifts, Agricola benefitted from the free labor of students at the Turku school. Paulus Juusten and possibly other colleagues assisted as well. He benefitted from a wide body of works written by other reformers. He did not have the time to write new and original works of theology or religious practice. In his defense, Agricola could have just decided to focus on translations of one reformer, such as Luther and or Olaus Petri. Instead, he exploited his position outside of centers of intellectual and ecclesiastical authority to draw on what he saw was the best work of the time.

These advantages did not secure publication. Agricola had to convince Laurentsson of the profitability of his books. Agricola emphasized his scarcity of resources in a letter to Amund Laurentsson dated 1 April 1551. In the letter, Agricola asked Laurentsson to publish his psalter by acting "as the glory of God demands and the teaching and cultivation of the poor and crude common people of Finland require." Agricola then launched an extended explanation of the widespread food shortages facing his diocese at that moment. In Turku there was "no grain for sale." In pleading poverty, Agricola was making a case to Amund Laurentsson to publish the book without subsidies.[57]

In the final analysis, Agricola was able to get his psalter and other works into print, because Amund Laurentsson calculated that they would be profitable. During the 1540s, Agricola likely was Laurentsson's most important author. Many of the important religious works in Swedish, such as the Bible, were already published before 1543, and so Laurentsson was looking for new publishing opportunities when Agricola offered his works. This raises the question whether Agricola would have gotten his works published if he had completed them in the 1530s, when Laurentsson was in the process of publishing more profitable books in Swedish. Other reformers, such as Olaus Petri, similarly had to convince Laurentsson to publish their works without subsidies, but by publishing in Swedish they reached a much larger market. Olaus Petri's books had a market on both sides of the Gulf of Bothnia. Agricola's market outside of Finland was limited to the small Finnish congregation in Stockholm. Finland's several monolingual Swedish-speaking parishes would have had no need for Agricola's works.

Agricola revealed the importance of the profit motive in the introduction of his last work. In *Ne Prophetat* (The Prophets) he stated that "much more

57 *HFH*, vol. 6, 318–320; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, 321–323.

would come from the Bible, if these [his previous works] would be bought and used."[58] This statement is an epitaph to Agricola's literary career. The beginning and end of Agricola's publishing run largely stemmed from business decisions by his publisher.

Agricola's major significance lies not only in that he put sacred texts into Finnish, but also that he did so with visibility and durability. He created Finnish as both a written and printed language. Over seventy percent of the words used by Agricola are still used in Finnish. Much of the rest is understandable to a reader of modern Finnish, especially if the reader can decipher Agricola's neologisms derived from Swedish.[59] Agricola was not as much a conservative Lutheran reformer as he was a realistic and pragmatic one. He understood the serious limitations under which he worked. He simply did not have the time, money, or qualified help an innovative theologian needed. The people first needed the basic texts of Christianity in its own language. He had to submit to the laws of the market to get any of God's Law published in the vernacular. In this environment getting as much of scripture and the Mass out into the vernacular as possible was the only realistic and effective course of action. Agricola pursued this course with a great deal of success.

58 Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 3, 719.

59 Martti Rapola, "Mikael Agricola ja suomenkielisen proosan alku," in *Suomen kirjallisuus*, vol. 2, ed. Martti Rapola et al. (Helsinki: SKS and Otava, 1963), 138.

CHAPTER 7

Schools, Art, and Belief

Finnish Lutheran commentators since Paulus Juusten have expressed senses of loss stemming from the Reformation. The church's loss of material wealth and institutional autonomy sapped its vibrancy as the major agent of art and education in the kingdom and diocese. Education was the one aspect of reform over which Lutheran reformers and the statebuilding king expressed open differences. The loss of the church's vibrancy as an agent of education and art made it even more difficult for Lutheran reformers to push their agenda among an often indifferent and reluctant populace. With insufficient tools of education and compulsion, the clergy struggled to introduce Lutheran reform. In this struggle, the clergy had to overcome both pre-Christian belief and practice as well as Christian belief and practice incompatible with reform.

The Decline of the School System

The sixteenth-century Reformations are associated generally with a growth of learning and education. Gustav Vasa's takeover of the church's wealth contracted the Swedish kingdom's educational infrastructure in three specific ways. First, the attrition of monasteries resulted in fewer schools. Second, the king's confiscation of diocesan revenue hampered the ability of the remaining schools to prepare students for possible university study. Third, the same confiscations made the church retrench its finances for several years before it could again send students abroad for university education. In fairness to the king, some evidence points to a decline of educational institutions that predated his reign. The kingdom's one university founded in Uppsala in 1477 had become dormant before the 1520s.[1]

Throughout his reign, Gustav Vasa's attitude toward education wavered between his unwillingness to spend money and his need for educated servants. Over the first decade and a half of his reign, the king displayed no discernable concern about the decline of educational institutions in his kingdom brought about by his confiscation of ecclesiastical resources. Then, in 1538 he proposed

1 Sten Lindroth, *Uppsala universitet 1477–1977* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), 9–20.

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a revival of the university at Uppsala, a plan that he did not pursue.[2] In 1546 at a *herredag* in Arboga, the participating bishops called for an expansion of education, and in particular, an investment in Uppsala University. At a *riksdag* in Strängnäs the following year, Gustav countered by proposing the education of all children. Åke Andrén has interpreted Gustav's ambitious counter-proposal as a rouse to deflect attention from the bishops' less costly but more realistic proposal.[3] Plausible intentions to deflect aside, Gustav's proposal better met his needs for an educated workforce. He did not need an additional influx of university-educated servants. A larger pool of less educated people sufficed for filling the king's job vacancies. If the king had realized his proposal, the church likely would have had to carry the Crown´s educational mission as it did starting in the seventeenth century.[4]

By the mid-1540s, the king understood at least somewhat that, if he wanted an educated workforce for his administration, he would have to assure some level of support for the kingdom's students and schools. This meant supporting the church's educational mission, since the church still provided virtually all of the kingdom's educational opportunities. In 1547, Ericus Härkäpää and another student, Laurentius Teit, left for Wittenberg. Their journey stalled in Rostock in the years 1547–1549 when the newest round of religious wars closed the university in Wittenberg. Härkäpää and Teit started their studies in Wittenberg at the beginning of 1549. Both students were short on funds, and in the summer of 1549 Teit traveled to Stockholm to ask the king for more money. Gustav agreed to give the students money from a revenue stream from the parish of Lohja (Lojo) for students abroad that the king had assumed some years earlier. This was an exceptional decision by the king, who previously had refused to support directly the study of individual students from the diocese. In January of 1551, Härkäpää traveled to Stockholm to seek more economic support from the king for his studies. Härkäpää brought a letter from his teacher, Philipp Melanchthon, in which he, appealing to the king as a patron of culture and the arts, asked the king to support this promising student. There is no record of the king's decision, but it was probably explicitly or implicitly negative. Härkäpää

2 Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3, *Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), 92; Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933), 269.

3 Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, 118.

4 Esko M. Laine and Tuija Laine, "Kirkollinen kansanopetus," in *Huoneentaulun maailma: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle*, ed. Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (Helsinki: SKS, 2010), 258–312.

completed his studies in Wittenberg sometime at the end of 1551 and then returned to Finland.[5]

At the same time, the king gave some educators economic security. In 1545 the king granted Bertill Christophersson "school headmaster in our city Porvoo" the income from the Holy Cross prebend.[6] When Paulus Juusten took over as the Cathedral School's rector in 1548, he similarly received from Gustav Vasa income from a prebend.[7] The first extant mention of Ericus Härkäpää's activity as rector of the Cathedral School is a letter of financial support in 1556 by the king to the new rector. According to the letter, Härkäpää was entitled to "half of a third of a last of rye, [and] half a third of grain from the tithe that comes from the deaneries of Raseborg and Halikko."[8] The king's investments in education apparently did not produce his desired results of gaining a better and larger workforce. In 1559, he complained in a letter to the ordinary of Örebro that the Crown attracted the worst students from the kingdom's schools.[9] Despite the indignities that Gustav had inflicted on the clergy, a clerical career was for many young men still a better career option than working for the king.

A recognition of the king's investments in education should not obscure his much larger cuts to the kingdom's educational infrastructure. The church's educational institutions and mission were so integral to the church that any reduction of the church's overall resources on the scale implemented by the king would have significantly affected the quality and availability of education. Concern about the impact of confiscations on education appears in an undated document by Finland's clergy to Gustav Vasa. In his study of the Cathedral Chapter of Turku, Kauko Pirinen dates it at around 1536. Nothing inside the

5 K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892), 12–13; Ari-Pekka Palola, "Härkäpää, Ericus Matthei (K 1578)," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/2263/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

6 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 7 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1854), 173.

7 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 273–276; G. O. Berg, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 19 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1901), 297–298; Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 151–152.

8 K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska skolväsendets historia*, vol. 4 (Helsinki: Hufvudstadets nya tryckeri, 1901), 1–2.

9 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 29 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1916), 225–226; Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 170–171.

document challenges Pirinen's conclusion, although one might argue that it could be dated even earlier, even as early as 1530, when Gustav visited Finland. Even with its uncertain provenance, the document offers some interesting insights into the collective concerns of Finland's clergy. The clergymen's concern was primarily educational, and in particular, how the king's confiscations of church income made it impossible to educate children. The clergy asked the king essentially to halt future confiscations of the cathedral chapter's income so that the diocese can continue its educational mission. The clergy asked that the king to distribute books from a dissolving Dominican cloister, likely that in Turku, to churches and schools. This document suggests the importance that Finland's clergy placed on education. It was one point of consensus among a clergy often divided over other aspects of reform.[10]

In the Swedish kingdom, much of the reduction of educational opportunities resulted from the closing of monasteries, and with that, their schools. In Finland this development meant the closing of monastery schools in Turku, Vyborg, and Rauma. No evidence of educational activity exists for the abbey at Naantali and the Franciscan monastery at Kökar during Gustav´s reign. The surviving schools in the diocese were the Cathedral School in Turku, and schools in Vyborg and Porvoo. The school in Porvoo moved to Helsinki in 1550 when Gustav founded the new city by forcing the migration of burghers from Porvoo, Ekenäs (Tammisaari), Ulvila, and Rauma. The school was funded by various prebends until 1556, when the Crown formally assumed maintenance of the school. The city of Pori was founded on Finland's west coast in 1558. The first written sources concerning a school in Pori are from 1562. It is quite possible that the school started operations already during Gustav's reign.[11]

Turku's Cathedral School continued its position as the flagship school of the diocese. It produced the most students for study in foreign universities. Its position of rector continued to serve as a springboard for future bishops. Mikael Agricola served as rector from 1539 to 1548, and then became acting bishop in 1550 after Skytte's death. Paulus Juusten (1548–1554) succeeded Agricola as rector. He then later served as bishop of Vyborg (1554–1562) and then Turku (1562–1575). Juusten's successor as rector, Ericus Härkäpää, who served at

10 KA SKHS Kokoelmat 82A; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 299–300.

11 C. J. Gardberg, "Kustaa Vaasan aika, vuodesta 1523 vuoteen 1546," in *Porvoon kaupungin historia*, vol. 1, ed. Torsten Edgren and C. J. Gardberg (Porvoo: Porvoon kaupunki, 1996), 256; Jussi Hanska and Anu Lahtinen, "Keskiajalta 1500-luvun lopulle," in *Huoneentaulun maailma: Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle*, ed. Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (Helsinki: SKS, 2010), 64–84.

least from 1556 to 1560, might have started already when Juusten gave up the position in 1554. Härkäpää served as bishop of Vyborg 1568–1578.[12]

Paulus Juusten

Paulus Juusten has been called "Finland's Melanchthon."[13] Juusten was trained under Philipp Melanchthon in Wittenberg, and can be compared to Melanchthon if one accepts that Juusten succeeded Agricola as the leader of Lutheran reformers in Finland much like Melanchthon succeeded Luther in Germany. Born the son of a prosperous merchant, Juusten was born around 1520 in Vyborg, so he was about ten years younger than Agricola. Juusten started his formal education at the same school in Vyborg where Agricola studied. Unlike Agricola, Juusten remained in Vyborg when the school's rector, Johannes Erasmusson, left for Turku in 1528. Erasmusson's successors, according to Juusten, "were not as devoted, industrious, or suitable for the education of youth."[14] Then, in 1532, a new chaplain for John of Hoya, a Danish-born man named Clemens, assumed the rector's position. Juusten remarks in his chronicle about Clemens's activities that he was "the first to teach Terence and Vergil in the Vyborg school."[15]

In 1536 Juusten then moved to Turku to continue his education. There he was taught by Thomas Keijoi, the first returnee from Wittenberg. In 1538 Juusten rose to become a lector for Bishop Skytte as well as an auxiliary teacher in the Cathedral School. In 1540, Juusten was ordained.[16] He wrote about the event that "at the [king's] court there was a less than desirable practice of taking [from the school] gifted youth in the middle of their studies against their

12 Ari-Pekka Palola, "Härkäpää, Ericus Matthei (K 1578)," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/2263/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

13 Otfried Czaika, "Melanchthon und Skandinavien: Die exportierte Reformation," in *Philipp Melacnchthon in der Briefkultur des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Matthias Dall'Asta et al. (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015), 237–259; Günter Frank, "Melanchthon und Skandinavien: Bilanz der Perspektiven der Forschung," in *Germania latina—Latinitas teutonica: Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit*, eds. Eckhard Kessler und Heinrich C. Kuhn (Munich: Fink, 2003), 457–468.

14 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 63; Simo Heininen, *Agricolan perintö: Paulus Juustenin elämä* (Helsinki: Edita, 2012), 9–16.

15 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 63.

16 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 63–64; Simo Heininen, "Juusten, Paulus (noin 1520–1575) Viipurin piispa, Turun piispa, reformaattori, historiankirjoittaja," in *Suomen kansallisbiografia*, http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/2250/ (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

will, whether or not they were more suitable for a position at the court than for the study of the humanities. In order to prevent this, the bishop who had taken Paulus [Juusten] into his service made sure that he was ordained."[17] He then was appointed to the rectorship of his alma mater in Vyborg. Then in 1543, he left for Wittenberg. Returning to Finland in 1546, Juusten returned to teach at the Turku school, becoming its rector in 1548.[18]

Philipp Melanchthon and the Diocese of Turku

In the nave of Helsinki Cathedral stand statues of Martin Luther, Mikael Agricola, and Philipp Melanchthon. Melanchthon taught many of the Swedish kingdom's ecclesiastical and temporal officeholders from the 1530s into the 1580s. He trained sixteen of the kingdom's bishops during the century. In the Diocese of Turku, Mikael Agricola and later Paulus Juusten were students of the *praeceptor Germaniae*. The Diocese of Vyborg's first three bishops, Juusten, Canutus Johannis, and Ericus Härkäpää, were students of Melanchthon.[19] Melanchthon's impact would not be fully felt until after Gustav Vasa's death when the Rostock theologian David Chytraeus popularized Melanchthon in Scandinavia.[20]

Little evidence suggests that the growing theological differences among Lutherans in Germany, which became more open after Luther's death in 1546, extended into the Swedish kingdom. Among Finland's clergy, the only evidence of any knowledge of conflict in Germany was a letter written by Ericus Härkäpää to Paulus Juusten in 1549. Writing from Wittenberg where he was a student, Härkäpää defended the actions of both Melanchthon and the Lutheran Elector Maurice of Saxony for accepting the Leipzig Interim of 1548. Härkäpää vigorously condemned rumors that Melanchthon had aligned himself with the Catholics as "nothing other than a satanic lie." He stated that these rumors came from both Catholics as well as supporters of Matthias Flacius, who opposed Melchanchthon's stand on adiaphora and the Interim.[21]

17 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 64.

18 Heininen, "Juusten, Paulus (noin 1520–1575)."

19 Frank, "Melanchthon," 462.

20 Otfried Czaika, *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 2002).

21 Letter published in Simo Heininen, *Die finnischen Studenten in Wittenberg 1531–1552* (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 1980), 91–94.

Why did the students from the Swedish kingdom flock to Melanchthon and not to his critics, such as Matthias Flacius? In a dearth of sources, one can only make some circumstantial suppositions. Very likely Härkäpää's praise of Melanchthon stemmed from growing up in a religious environment in which ecclesiastical and temporal officials sought to avoid religious conflict. Härkäpää and his fellow Swedish subjects in Wittenberg found in Melanchthon an academic and ecclesiastical authority for the kind of church they were already building in the Swedish kingdom. They were Melanchthonians before they met Melanchthon. Moreover, Melanchthon created his international brand as a teacher. Most of those from the Swedish kingdom in Wittenberg knew that their first job upon returning to their homeland was likely teaching. Melanchthon was not just the *praeceptor Germaniae*; he was the teacher of Europe's teachers.[22]

The impact of Melanchthon and Lutheran reform on education during Gustav Vasa's reign was less than transformative, since the school system was contracting. The Lutheran movement's emphasis on education had fewer and fewer bridgeheads from which to spread its values. As a result, the clergy was likely no better educated at the end of Gustav's reign than before it. In 1541 Georg Norman in his visitation to Västergötland and Östergötland encountered a pastor who answered his question *Quod es evangelium* with *Est baptismus*.[23] In the preference to his New Testament in 1548, Agricola complained that many parish clergymen did not understand Latin or Swedish, still important languages for those charged with proclaiming the Word of God in Finnish. Moreover, according to Agricola, the clergy demonstrated little interest in teaching or learning.[24] On the one hand, some of Norman's and Agricola's criticisms might stem from the eternal worry among teachers about declining standards in education and declining aptitude among students. On the other hand, no evidence suggests that the spread of Lutheran reform led to a widespread outbreak of learning among the clergy or the people as a whole. Just because the Word of God was in the vernacular did not automatically mean that local pastors or ordinary people understood the content any better than they understood the Latin Mass. The Lutheran church with a strong educational mission frequently associated with the Swedish kingdom's church would not begin to materialize until the seventeenth century.

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22 For example, Silesia. See Christine Absmeier, *Das schlesische Schulwesen im Jahrhundert der Reformation: Ständische Bildungsreformen im Geiste Philipp Melanchthons* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011).

23 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 131–132;

24 Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 2 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 15–16.

Art

Much like the school system, the church's rich material culture declined during Gustav Vasa's reign. Scandinavia was spared from the iconoclastic furies of the eastern Baltic and central Europe. By the time Lutheran reform had made its first inroads into ecclesiastical life in the Swedish kingdom, the conflict within the Lutheran movement over ecclesiastical art largely had been resolved. The push by Andreas Karlstadt to turn Lutheranism into an iconoclastic movement was rebuffed by Luther when he came out of protective custody in Wartburg Castle in 1522. For Luther, the church's art was not in and of itself a problem, as long as it supported the church's teachings. This accommodating view of the church's art was latter reinforced by Melanchthon's doctrine of *adiaphora*. In respect to the Swedish kingdom, little evidence exists concerning debates or discussions about church art. The only comments that have survived are those of Olaus and Laurentius Petri. They shared Luther's and Melanchthon's views.[25]

The slow change of art and church interiors in both Scandinavia and Germany reflected this prevailing equanimity with the church's medieval material culture.[26] Markus Hiekkanen has revealed the persistence of medieval high altars in Finland well into the seventeenth century and medieval altarpieces even into the nineteenth century. Hiekkanen applies to the slow changes in material culture the term "the long Reformation" first used in respect to the Reformation in England.[27] This long Reformation applied to much of Lutheran Europe. In addition to the conservative approach of Lutheran reformers, other pressures

25 Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Mereth Lindgren, *Att lära och att pryda: Om efterreformatoriska kyrkmålningar i Sverige cirka 1530–1630* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 1983), 13–18.

26 Bernhard Kunkel, "Rezeption—Renovation: Reformatorisches Gestalten mittelalterlicher Ausstattungen pommerscher Kirchen zwischen Ästhetik und Katechese," in *Ecclesiae Ornate: Kirchenausstattung des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit zwischen Denkmalwert und Funktionalität*, ed. Gerhard Eimer et al. (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 2009), 269–289.

27 Markus Hiekkanen, "Pitkä reformaatio: Katolilaisista luterilaisiin alttarikoristeisiin 1550–1870," in *Kirkko–taide–viestintä: Markku Heikkilän juhlakirja*, ed. Sari Dhima (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2005), 171–188; Markus Hiekkanen "'The Stripping of Altars` on the Fringes of Europe: The 17th Century Relocation and Rearticulation of Finnish Medieval High Altars after the Reformation," in *Art and the Church: Religious Art and Architecture in the Baltic Region in the 13th-18th Centuries*, ed. Krista Kodres and Merike Kurisoo (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2008), 119–130; Nicholas Tyacke, ed., *England's Long Reformation* (London: UCL, 1998).

likely helped maintain much of the churches' medieval interiors. Markus Hiekkanen plausibly speculates that, as a poor institution in a poor corner of Europe, the church could simply not afford to engage in comprehensive interior redecorating.[28] One can additionally consider that, considering the clergy's devotion to putting the Word of God into the vernacular, it had little interest in the visual, either in terms of eliminating the old or creating new kinds of art and symbolism.

In a comprehensive study of church interiors during the period 1527–1718, Hanna Pirinen argues that breaks with the Catholic medieval era occurred more slowly in the Swedish kingdom than in Lutheran Germany. Changes in Finland occurred even more slowly than in the rest of the Swedish kingdom, really only taking place well into the seventeenth century. Even in the eighteenth century, the interiors of Finland's churches led many foreign visitors to assume that the country was Roman Catholic.[29] The work of Hiekkanen, Pirinen, and other Finnish art historians suggests that Finland was alone in Lutheran Europe in its long Reformation. Many parts of Lutheran Germany proved similarly conservative in preserving parts of the church's medieval material culture that advanced the teaching of the Gospel.[30]

This conservative approach to churches and their material culture ran at times counter to another principle upheld by Lutheran reformers: temporal authorities decided what items churches could keep.[31] The Swedish kingdom's church was spared from iconoclasm by ecclesiastical reformers and angry mobs, but cannot one count Gustav Vasa's confiscation of the church's portable property count as a type of iconoclastic fury? The king's confiscation of ecclesiastical property was not motivated primarily by religious conviction, but he did share with iconoclasts the view that the church had become too opulent and concerned with worldly wealth. Usually considerations of iconoclastic furies focused on the destruction of statues. Iconoclastic actions attacked many other material representations of the medieval church's power, teaching, and practices. This larger concern about idolatry included such objects as vestments, chalices, and monstrances, the kind of articles that Gustav

28 Hiekkanen, "Pitkä reformaatio," 174–175.

29 Hanna Pirinen, *Luterilaisen kirkkointeriöörin muototuminen Suomessa: Pitäjänkirkon sisustuksen muutokset reformaatiosta karoliinisen ajan loppuun* (*1527–1718*) (Helsinki: Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys, 1996); Hanna Pirinen, "Keskiaikaisia jatkumoja luterilaisessa kirkko-interiöössä," in *Ristin ja Olavin kanssa: Keskiajan usko ja kirkko Hämeessä ja Satakunnassa*, ed. Maija-Liisa Linder, Marjo-Riitta Saloniemi, and Christian Krötzl (Tampere: Tampereen museot, 2000), 195–201.

30 Kunkel, "Rezeption—Renovation," 269–289.

31 Koerner, *Reformation of the Image*, 158–159.

Vasa confiscated.[32] Books were destroyed in iconoclastic furies. In the Swedish kingdom, the king's bailiffs destroyed many medieval manuscripts in order to use their parchment to cover royal account books.[33]

The confiscation of the church's wealth ended the building boom of stone churches. The most intensive period of starting stone churches occurred in the years 1500–1520, when the foundations for at least thirty stone churches were laid, about a third of all of the stone churches under construction between 1270 and 1560. The transfer of wealth from the church to the Crown halted the building boom. The number of stone churches started after 1520 fell to around ten, and some of those might have started before 1520. Since the building of stone churches lasted decades, the Reformation stopped many projects started in the fifteenth century. It is estimated that about half of the medieval stone church projects were not completed.[34]

While in Lutheran Germany artists, such as Lucas Cranach the Elder and his son, were at the forefront of creating a new Lutheran art, there was no such creative outburst in the Diocese of Turku. There are two known significant works of ecclesiastical art from Gustav Vasa's reign in Finland. In 1550 Finnish nobleman and member of the Council of the Realm Björn Classon donated an ornate wooden pulpit to the church in Hattula. Classon was the last Finn from the pre-Reformation era to study in Paris. His son, Hans, studied in the years 1549–1550 in Rostock and Wittenberg. Like his father, Hans Classon chose a career in royal administration. Björn Classon's donation of a pulpit suggests that shared the Lutheran emphasis on the proclamation of the Word of God.[35]

In 1550, Gustav appointed his court preacher Jacobus Sigfridi Geet vicar of the Ostrobothnian parish of Isokyrö. Four years later, the king appointed Geet dean of all parishes in Ostrobothnia. Geet came from the lower nobility, and he was able to amass further wealth in Isokyrö to earn the appellation "Grand Duke of Isokyrö." Some of this wealth accumulation stemmed from tax breaks that Gustav gave to Geet both as vicar and as dean. Around 1560 Geet spent some of his wealth in the church at Isokyrö in the form of some 114 mural paintings of biblical events.[36]

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32 Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

33 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 131–132.

34 Markus Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007).

35 Hanna Pirinen, "Kaksi suomalaista luterilaista esinehistoriaa 1500-luvulla," *Suomen museo* 117 (2010): 86–94.

36 "Geet, Jacobus Sigfridi (K 1586)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=763 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

The paintings are aligned into three rows that go around the church's interior. The highest row depicts stories from the Old Testament from creation until the Ten Commandments. The middle row then depicts the life of Jesus. The lowest row depicts Gospel passages for holy days not depicted in the upper two rows.[37] Both the Hattula pulpit and the Isokyrö wall paintings conform to Lutheran calls for making didactic art to advance knowledge of scripture.

Remains of Catholic Belief and Practice

Measuring the persistence of Catholic belief in the Diocese of Turku is very difficult on many counts. Few sources concerning belief emanated from or pertained to the people. Unlike other parts of the kingdom, no popular rebellions against or for Lutheran reform occurred. Although the clergy became more Lutheran in orientation over the time of Gustav's reign, it is difficult to assess at what speed the clergy became Lutheran. No specific moment occurred in which all clergy had to swear allegiance to the new doctrinal order. Nor was there a formal purge of clergy that opposed the new order. By what metrics should clergymen be considered Lutheran or Catholic? For example, one might consider marriage by a pastor as a sign of Lutheranization, but not all supporters of Lutheran reform could or did marry. In many cases, we do not know if a clergyman married. For Gustav's era the sources do not allow for making anything approaching a complete or representative roster of the clergy. Since Lutheran reform had a conservative approach to reforming the medieval church, it is difficult sometimes to establish what in the minds of the clergy constituted old and new belief.

The acceptance of reform among the broader population is similarly murky. The bailiffs' accounts reveal few cases where a person was penalized for observing old practice. In Rauma in 1549, a woman received a fine for celebrating St. Olaf's Day. The traditional celebration of this day consisted of feasting on a lamb.[38] The general attitude among the authorities seems to have been to

37 Lindgren, *Att lära och att pryda*, 13–18, 60–64; Emil Nervander, "Väggmålningarna i Storkyro gamla kyrka," *Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja* 26 (1901): 1–75; Riitta Pylkkäinen, *Isonkyrön vanha kirkko* (Isokyrö: Isonkyrön seurakunta, 1954).

38 Kaarlo Arffman, "Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland," in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, ed. Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 258; Pentti Papunen, "Rauman seudun asuttaminen ja yhteiskunnallisen vaikuttamisen kausi rautakauden lopulta n. vuoteen 1550," in Kalevi Virkkala and Pentti Papunen, *Rauman seudun historia*, vol. 1 (Rauma:

allow Lutheran reform to spread more by attrition and persuation than coercion. Confraternities were banned by the *riksdag* in Västerås in 1544 but their property was not confiscated in Finland until the 1550s.[39] By the time Agricola had become bishop in 1554, there remained at least one visible Catholic community—the diocese's last surviving monastery, the abbey in Naantali. In the fall of 1554, Agricola made a visitation to the abbey. His report revealed little headway for Lutheran reform in the abbey. Agricola wrote that the monks and nuns "promised to become evangelical people in doctrine and lives. They were forbidden from reading or singing about the revelations of St. Bridget, rather [they would read and sing] only the Bible. They want to use the Mass in Swedish and Finnish. They were forbidden from holding Mass without communicants. They promised to stop invoking the intercession of saints and other such superstition."[40] Agricola made no effort to close the abbey or punish the nuns. There is no evidence that Agricola employed mechanisms to hold the abbey to its collective promises.

The Persistence of Paganism

For the Lutheran reformers in the Diocese of Turku, heresy was less of a problem than pagan practice or just outright ignorance of basic Christian teachings. Scott Hendrix's Christianization thesis proves particularly apt for understanding both the state of Christianity in the Diocese of Turku and the aims of the reformers. The challenge was not so much to uproot established Roman Catholic Christianity as to educate large segments of the population that had a rudimentary grasp of Christianity.[41] The diocese lay at the edge of Christendom. North of the Diocese of Turku lay lands inhabited by the Sámi (Lapp) people. The Swedish Crown and church did not engage in any sustained process to convert the Sámi until the early seventeenth century. Scholars of the conversion process argue that Christianity did not displace pre-Christian

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Rauman seudun historiatoimikunta, 1959), 97; Kustaa Vilkuna, *Vuotuinen ajantieto* (Keuruu: WSOY, 1991), 296–298.

39 Mikko Piippo, "Kiltalaitos keskiajan Suomessa," in *Suomen kulttuurihistoria*, vol. 1, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Timo Joutsivuo (Keuruu: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Tammi, 2002), 202–203.

40 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1856), 162–163.

41 Scott H. Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville and London: Westminister John Knox Press, 2004).

belief systems in Lapland until well into the nineteenth century.[42] The long process of converting the Sámi people to Christianity should be considered when examining Christianization in the Diocese of Turku. Both the Diocese of Turku and Lapland were sparsely populated with relatively few churches and an uneven spread of clergymen. The process of Christianization in the Diocese of Turku started earlier than in Lapland but lasted just as long or even longer. The centuries-long Christianization of the Sámi occurred under better technological conditions and more sophisticated coercive means than did the process in the Diocese of Turku.

Mikael Agricola is best known as the creator of Finnish as a literary language. He was also Finland's first folklorist. Agricola produced the first catalogue of pagan Finnish gods in his psalter of 1551. Agricola opened this publication with a catalogue of Finland's pagan gods, which still serves as an authoritative source about Finland's pre-Christian belief system. Agricola did not make his catalogue for purely humanistic or scholarly reasons. For him the pagan gods represented a real threat to Christianity, in part because the Catholic Church had done so little to eliminate pagan traditions. According to Agricola, paganism only declined with the recent Reformation of the church. "People worshipped many more things [in addition to the gods mentioned]: rocks, tree-stumps, the stars, and the moon. Even recently under the doctrine of the pope people bowed [before these objects] both publicly and privately."[43]

It is difficult to grasp the extent of pagan beliefs and practices in the diocese during Gustav Vasa's time. Mikael Agricola's ability to compose a list of pagan Finnish gods suggests the existence of widespread and available information about these gods. Over a half-century later, the Dutch traveler Andreas van Wouv wrote that in Finland "in many places there are high poles with a cross within an oval ring at the top and at the base with a broad, altar-like elevation. They hold it sacred, and at their festivals they slaughter a goat, calf, or a lamb, mix their blood, and pour it over the basis of the pole as a sacrifice."[44]

One ritual with pagan roots known to both Gustav Vasa and Agricola consisted of spring "basket celebrations" (*vakkajuhlat*) that celebrated the turn in the agrarian year. These festivities were held in groves held sacred by the local

42 Ritva Kylli, *Saamelaisten kaksi kääntymystä: Uskonnon muuttuminen Utsjoen ja Enontekiön lapinmailla 1602–1905* (Helsinki: SKS, 2012); Håkan Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time: Religious Change among the Lule Saami 1670s-1740s* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993).

43 Mikael Agricola, Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 3 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987), 213.

44 Sune Hildebrand, ed., *En holländsk beskicknings resor i Ryssland, Finland och Sverige 1615–1616* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1917), 220–221.

community. Special baskets of food for the gods were made for the event. People drank a special beer. Households that hosted the event were expected to supply all of the food and drink for their guests. The most important of these basket celebrations was one held around 25 May to honor Ukko, the pagan Finnish god of weather. During the celebration, people drank a special toast to Ukko.[45] Agricola wrote about the event that "when spring planting was sown, a toast to Ukko was made. Then they fetched Ukko's sowing basket and both young maiden and old woman drank. Many shameful things were done there, both heard and seen. When Rauni, Ukko's woman, began to splash, Ukko allowed it to splash from the bottom of the heavens so that he allowed water and weather to come [for a good harvest]."[46] What is interesting about Agricola's description is that he uses the past tense, as if these celebrations were a thing of the past. They were not. In a document dated around the mid-1540s, peasants in Savo complained to the king that they had to pay a fine for drinking a toast to Ukko, whose name was translated in the Swedish document as Thor.[47] In 1670 church officials admonished peasants in Savo for holding the celebration of Ukko. The peasants responded by stating that not only did their pastor not forbid them from holding the celebration, the pastor participated in it himself! Such celebrations continued well into the nineteenth century.[48]

Agricola's desire to assign these pagan rituals to the past can be explained in several possibly complimentary ways. He was more interested in using paganism to attack the old Catholic order than to attack paganism itself. He did not see the pagan rituals as something worth his time confronting directly. They would disappear as the new Lutheran order established itself. He might have recognized that these rituals were part of a syncretic but Christian-dominated belief system. Folklorists agree that many of the pagan gods that Agricola identified in the sixteenth century had their roots partially in the medieval Christian cult of saints.[49] In any case, Agricola established a tradition in which the Finnish clergy seemingly saw pagan folk traditions more as a topic of study than a target of persecution.[50]

45 Martti Haavio, *Suomalainen mytologia* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1967); Uno Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1948), 103–122.

46 Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset*, vol. 3, 213.

47 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 309.

48 Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, 104.

49 Ilmari Talve, *Suomen kansankulttuuri: Historiallisia päälinjoja* (Helsinki: SKS, 1979), 209–210.

50 Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, 1–41; William A. Wilson, *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 3–27.

Witchcraft

When Gustav Vasa died in 1560, the Swedish kingdom still stood a century away from its peak period of persecuting witches. In his study of witchcraft trials in Sweden, Bengt Ankarloo dates the first witchcraft trial in Gustav's time to 1528 and second only in 1546. Both of these were in Stockholm. The trials were unevenly spread throughout the kingdom. Of the twenty-one cases identified by Ankarloo during Gustav's reign, only one was in the Diocese of Turku in 1552.[51]

As far as Finland is concerned, Ankarloo's work is problematic, since it rests on only some published primary sources. By looking at unpublished and all published sources, scholars of sixteenth-century Finland have found several more cases from Gustav Vasa's reign. In 1554 in the parish of Kemi, one Magnus Olsson was fined forty marks for bewitching a fellow villager. The average fine for assault was three marks, so a fine that was more than thirteen times that of inflicting bodily harm through physical rather than supernatural means indicates the seriousness with which witchcraft was treated. In Kalajoki in 1556, Antti Piirouru was fined forty marks similarly for witchcraft. In the neighboring parish of Salo in 1557 a court sentenced Tuomas Malinen of Pyhäjärvi to a fine of forty marks.[52]

While Bengt Ankarloo's work in its details is problematic in respect to Finland, it does inform about the larger challenges of studying witchcraft in the Swedish kingdom. Ankarloo suggests that the low numbers of witchcraft trials in Gustav Vasa's reign relative to subsequent eras could in part stem from the fragmentary nature of court records in the kingdom during Gustav's reign and before 1540 in particular. The assumption by the Crown of the church's judicial functions might have created various gaps in enforcement.[53] While penalties for witchcraft were high, acquittals were widespread.[54] The severity of the

51 Bengt Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna i Sverige* (Stockholm: Institutet för rättshistorisk forskning, 1984), 340. For an examination on witcraft in Finland that focusses on the seventeenth century see, Raisa Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

52 KA Voudintilit 1538–1610: 4553: 21; 4562: 58v; 4577:41; Armas Luukko, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin historia*, vol. 2, *Pohjois-Pohjanmaan ja Lapin keskiaika sekä 1500-luku* (Oulu: Pohjois-Pohjanmaan Maakuntaliiton ja Lapin Maakuntaliiton Yhteinen Historiatoimikunta, 1954), 706; Marko Nenonen and Timo Kervinen, *Synnin palkka on kuolema: Suomalaiset noitavainot 1500-1700-luvulla* (Helsinki: Otava, 1994), 44.

53 Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna*, 31–37.

54 Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna*, 340.

penalty might have been itself a disincentive to convict a suspect. Accusing someone of witchcraft was not without risk. Often the accuser had to pay a fine for bearing false witness if the court found the accused innocent of witchcraft. At a trial in 1550 in the parish of Eura, the court found Paavo Narajoki innocent of witchcraft and then fined his accuser Anders Kahimaa three marks for making a false accusation. This sentence was then reduced to one mark.[55]

Moreover, the Swedish kingdom operated under a definition of witchcraft based on pre-Christian Germanic law: witchcraft was an activity that physically injured human beings. The same law defined magic as an activity that sought to improve a person's fortunes. Until the 1660s, witchcraft was much more heavily punished than magic.[56] One should also consider that the church itself spent most of the 1520s and 1530s absorbed in various visions of reforming the church. The clergy was focused on reforming the church's liturgy and basic doctrines rather than prosecuting sin. By the end of the 1540s, both the reform of the judiciary and the church had developed enough so that the Crown and church could broaden their reach in disciplining the people. At this time, witch trials started to occur with greater frequency.

Gustav Vasa himself raised the one case in Finland from 1552 mentioned by Ankarloo. In 1552, the king wrote a letter to some of his chief lieutenants in Finland's royal administration. The king was writing at the behest of his secretary Clemet Hansson, who claimed that his brother-in-law, Måns Ivarsson, was killed in Finland "by the initiative and machinations of several evil persons through poisoning and witchcraft." Gustav called on his lieutenants to find and prosecute the perpetrators to the fullest extent of the law.[57] The document reveals attitudes toward witchcraft on two counts. First, Gustav saw this as a case for civil rather than religious officials. Second, officials either did not or could not execute Gustav's command to find and prosecute the murderers. The murder remained a cold case until 1563 when King Eric XIV at Clemet Hansson's behest succeeded in bringing the suspects into court. They were ultimately acquitted for a lack of evidence.[58]

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55 Roos, John E., ed. *Ala-Satakunnan tuomiokirja 1550–1552* (Helsinki: Valtionarkisto, 1964), 35.

56 Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna*, 326–327; Nenonen and Kervinen, *Synnin palkka on kuolema*, 59.

57 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur,* vol. 23 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1905), 328. Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna*, 64.

58 Kungl. samfundet för utgifvande af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, ed., *Historiska handlingar*, vol. 13 (Stockholm: Central-tryckeriet, 1892), 78. Ankarloo, *Trolldomsprocesserna*, 64.

Maintenance of Respect and Discipline

The court records suggest that most criminal cases concerning the church did not pertain to any heresy or superstition, but rather to disrespectful and sacrilegious action: the disruption of church services, desecration of church space, and violations of the Sabbath. In 1549, a man in the village of Tennilä near Hollola was convicted of riding his horse into a church in the middle of Christmas services. A court in Sääminki in the region of Savo punished peasants who wanted to change the cantor in the middle of Christmas services in the same year. The churchyard was often the stage for fights and drunkeness.[59] There were frequent convictions for violating prohibitions on working on holy days.[60] In the Åland Islands and coastal areas, the most common form of Sabbath violation came in the form of fishing on Sunday.[61] The emphasis on enforcing behavior over abstract belief further points to a Reformation with a larger Christianizing rather than a narrower Lutheran agenda. The church first needed to make people respectful of the church as an institution then it could more easily teach doctrine. This emphasis on behavior set the stage for the church to act as an even more invasive instrument of social discipline in the seventeenth century.

The courts did not concern themselves only with the disrespect of ordinary parishioners toward the church. The courts also held pastors to account. In 1551 the vicar of the parish of Ii was fined in court for his complicity with two thieves who stole from Russian merchants visiting the area.[62] In 1554 Vicar Laurentius of Kemi was fined forty marks for stealing sheep. Forced out of office, he then was fined for falsely accusing his successor of theft.[63] In 1556 the vicar of the parish of Lempäälä was subject to the medieval procedure of being thrown over the churchyard fence by his own parishioners. In this action, the parishioners effectively fired their pastor. The pastor managed to keep his

59 Kauko Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja 1500-luvun maarovasteista ja rovastinkäräjistä," in *Arce et vigilia: Studia historico-ecclesiastica in honorem*, ed. *Ilmari Salomies* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1963), 32–33.

60 Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja 1500-luvun maarovasteista ja rovastinkäräjistä," 34–35.

61 Reinhold Hausen, *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vol. 2:1, *Ålands saköreslängder från 1500-talet* (Helsinki: J. Simelii Arfvingars tryckeri, 1894), 92–94, 150.

62 "Thomas Ingonis (K 1574)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=2498 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

63 "Laurentius (mainitaan 1546–1560)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=1377 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016).

position, but was later convicted of both assault and falsely accusing his chaplain of stealing church property.[64]

Calvinists and Sabbatarians

Most of the conflict over reforming the teachings of the Swedish kingdom's church was conducted between the theological poles of Roman Catholicism and the theology of Luther and Melanchthon. More radical elements of Lutheran reform, not to mention other Protestant reform movements, did not have a lasting impact on the Reformation during the transformative decades of the 1530s and 1540s. In the late 1550s, Calvinism established a bridgehead at the Swedish kingdom's court. The earliest known Calvinist in Sweden was the Frenchman Dionysius Beurreus, the tutor of Crown Prince Erik, who came to Sweden in 1543. In 1558 a Calvinist Dutchman Jan van Herboville arrived in Sweden to become Prince John's tutor. Enough Dutch Calvinist skilled immigrants arrived in Sweden in the late 1550s so that Gustav allowed them to have their own pastor in 1559. In the same year, John Calvin sent King Gustav a copy of his treatise on the Minor Prophets. Laurentius Petri feared the growth of Calvinist influence enough to write a polemic against the Calvinist understanding of the Eurcharist in 1558. These Calvinists would not exercise any serious influence in the Swedish kingdom's church until after Gustav's death, and then for only a short time. During Gustav's reign Calvinist influences were felt, if at all, only at the king's court. No evidence suggests any Calvinist influence or presence in the Diocese of Turku.[65]

The diocese did experience one of the kingdom's few brief brushes with more radical Reformation. In December 1554 Gustav Vasa wrote an open letter to the "taxpaying peasants and common men" of Finland that "a crowd of common people are observing as their holy day Saturday as the Jews of the Old Testament did."[66] In the long letter, the king does not give any details concerning the location, size, or additional practices of these Sabbatarians. No other

64 Arffman, "Resistance," 264; Krok, Olaus Martini (K 1594), in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/ paimenmuisto/?eid=1328 (accessed 1 Nov. 2016); Seppo Suvanto, *Knaapista populiin: Tutkimuksia erikoistumisesta Satakunnan talonpojistossa vuosina 1390–1571* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1987), 284; Asko Vilkuna, "Papinheitto," *Kotiseutu* 1953, 128–134.

65 Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, 360–363; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 177.

66 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 24 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1906), 465–469.

mention is made of them in other primary sources. Gustav makes the well-known arguments against the Sabbatarians that with Christ's death. Christians were freed from the Mosaic Law not reconfirmed in the New Testament. Christians had made Sunday their day of rest, since it is the day of Christ's resurrection. Interestingly, the king does not threaten the Sabbatarians with any legal action or violence. Rather, he repeatedly predicts that this group will provoke God's wrath on the people of Finland.[67]

This letter is the only known source concerning Sabbatarians in the entire kingdom. If we assume, based on the lack of sources, that this group of Sabbatarians was small and ephemeral, why did Gustav spend so much energy condemning them? The lack of sources can tempt historians into making an endless number of guesses. Of course, the king wanted to uphold doctrinal unity among his subjects, and Sabbatarianism was beyond the parameters of tolerance in the Swedish kingdom. Considering that Gustav spent considerable effort reducing the number of holy days and increasing the number of days his subjects had to work, the king was likely annoyed at anyone trying to change the work calendar. More immediate explanations can be found by focusing on Finland at the end of 1554. In August of that year, the king split the old medieval diocese into two—Turku and Vyborg, The flux in official authority gave opportunities for rebels to come out of the shadows. Moreover, in 1554 the Swedish kingdom was on the brink of full-fledged war with Russia, a war that would be fought in Finland. The spread of any heresy and especially one as radical as Sabbatarianism threatened to sow division at a time when the king needed unity.

From where did this group of Sabbatarians receive its inspiration? In his book on Finland's church history written in 1902, Elis Bergroth speculates that the group had received its influences from a heretical sect of Judaizers in Russia. Bergroth's idea has since been repeated in the scholarship to the point that it has almost reached the status of proven fact.[68] Bergroth's explanation has problems besides the lack of evidence from primary sources. Movements of Judaizers and anti-Trinitarians in Russia already had virtually disappeared by the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century. By the mid-1550s, there were only three recognized heretics in Russia. Not one was known for advocating Sabbatarian practices, and none appeared to have significant followings. If this group existed in Finland during the time of the vibrant Judaizer heresy

67 *KGR*, vol. 24, 465–469.

68 Elis Bergroth, *Suomen kirkko: Sen kehitys, sen vaikutus kansaan ja sen suhde valtioon*, vol. 1 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1902). Repeated in, for example, Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 256.

in Russia (approximately 1470–1504), then Bergroth's hypothesis might have more validity.[69]

If we disregard a possible Russian connection, there are two other possible explanations for the rise of this Sabbatarian group. The first is that this group might have been influenced by the many Sabbatarian groups in Central and Eastern Europe—Germany, Poland, and Transylvania. The problem with this possibility is that Sabbatarian groups only started growing again in the 1560s and 1570s after a decline in the 1540s and 1550s.[70] A second possibility is that this movement originated out of purely local conditions: people with greater access to scripture in an environment with changing doctrinal norms were making their own interpretations of Christianity.

At the end of Gustav Vasa's reign, the Swedish kingdom's church consisted as much of ruins of the old medieval Catholic order as it did the construction of a new Lutheran order. The most visible ruins of the old order were the school system as well as the church's art and material culture. This liminality between the Catholic past and the Lutheran future manifested itself in both the actions and beliefs of the kingdom's temporal and ecclesiastical leaders and in the attitudes of ordinary people. Before the king's reign ended, Finland's church would have to contend with another ruin created by the king—the diocese itself.

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69 Paul Bushkovitch, *Religion and Society in Russia: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 26–31. The author benefitted from several discussions with Professor Bushkovitch about Russian heretics.

70 Stanislas Kot, *Socianism in Poland: The Social and Political Ideas of the Polish Antitrinitarians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1957); Daniel Liechty, *Sabbatarianism in the Sixteenth Century: A Page in the History of the Radical Reformation* (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1993).

CHAPTER 8

The End of the Medieval Diocese

In May 1554, King Gustav Vasa met with the four remaining members of the Diocese of Turku's Cathedral Chapter: Deacon Petrus Ragvaldi, Canon Canutus Johannis, Canon and Acting Bishop Mikael Agricola, as well as rector of the Cathedral School in Turku, Paulus Juusten. Paulus Juusten described the meeting as follows: "After all other matters were discussed, His Majesty invited them [the members of the chapter] to a yard outside of Gripsholm Castle. He said that the prelates of Sweden's cathedrals no longer needed to go to Rome to receive an episcopal appointment, because this right was held by His Majesty at home in Sweden."[1] The king's statement of what had been his policy for some thirty years likely did not surprise his guests. They might have wondered why the king was devoting such ceremony to the proclamation of a well-established procedure. Then he made an announcement that did earn a special stage. According to Juusten's chronicle, "the renowned lord king saw it good to divide Finland into two dioceses, namely Turku and Vyborg."[2] Gustav Vasa named Mikael Agricola the bishop, or to use the king's title, ordinary, of the new rump Diocese of Turku. The king appointed Paulus Juusten leader of the new Diocese of Vyborg.

The partition of the diocese was yet another attempt by the king to weaken the episcopacy. Moreover, the partition initiated and facilitated an intense period of royal reform of the church in a part of the kingdom that had previously avoided many aspects of it. Gustav not only shrank the Diocese of Turku, but also he eliminated its cathedral chapter, thus ending any claim by the diocese to self-governance. He continued his confiscations of precious metals, taxes, and lands. At the same time, he extended his direct influence over the clergy. War with Russia gave the king further opportunities to advance royal reform.

New Bishops, New Dioceses

According to Juusten's account of events at Gripsholm Castle, the only extant primary source, both Juusten and Agricola gave the king an oath of office in

1 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 60.

2 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 60.

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both oral and written form. Then "the king reminded us of the duties of our office, that we would not, like Archbishop Gustav Trolle among others, want to rise up in rebellion against public peace and order, but rather that we would demonstrate obedience, faithfulness, and respect toward legal authority, and that we would urge others to faithfully fulfill these duties as well as keep watch for the salvation of the many while looking for the glory of God in everything."[3] Juusten's account encapsulates the king's expectations of bishops to serve the needs of temporal power. The reference to Gustav Trolle reveals Gustav's concern about a possible resurgence of episcopal political power, a possibility that in 1554 could have lived only in the king's paranoid mind.

Juusten stated that both he and Agricola received a "laying of the hands and confirmation" from Bishop Botvid of Strängnäs. Juusten addresses the question that he knew many would have about Botvid's participation—why he and not Archbishop Laurentius Petri performed the ceremony. According to Juusten, Laurentius had fallen into the king's bad graces and thus was not invited.[4] The consecration of Agricola and Juusten is exceptional in that they were the only diocesan leaders appointed as ordinaries by Gustav Vasa who were formally consecrated by a bishop.[5]

Juusten stated that when Agricola returned to Turku he "conducted with a miter on his head the so-called Bishop's Mass on the birthday of the Blessed Virgin. When the Royal Majesty received word of this, he could not tolerate it with a calm mind because of its [the Mass's] popery."[6] Meanwhile, Agricola referred to himself as bishop rather than ordinary.[7] One should be careful with interpreting too much into the significance of Agricola's actions to Gustav Vasa. The king had no problem removing recalcitrant bishops. Apart from Juusten's account, no other source illuminates Gustav Vasa's view of Agricola's adherence to medieval traditions. Although Agricola employed the ceremony and title of a medieval bishop, he made no effort to reclaim powers and wealth lost by bishops to the king over the previous quarter century.

The creation of a second diocese in Finland rested on some antecedents. During the medieval crusades that spread Roman Christianity eastward across the Finnish peninsula missionary bishops might have worked along

3 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 60.

4 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 61.

5 Sven Kjöllerstrom, *Kräkla och mitra: En undersökning om biskopsvigningar i Sverige under reformationstidevarvet* (Lund: Gleerup, 1965), 119.

6 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 61.

7 Viljo Tarkiainen and Kari Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola: Suomen uskonpuhdistaja* (Helsinki: Otava, 1985), 110.

the front while the bishop of Turku tended to more established areas. The church received donations in the fourteenth century for the endowment of a new diocese. Vyborg during the medieval era became the home of monasteries and schools that educated church leaders. The city had a sizeable church. Vyborg in many respects had the entire infrastructure for holding an episcopal seat.[8]

The new diocese created a precedent for future royal reform. In 1557 Gustav Vasa decided to divide the other six medieval dioceses as he had done to Turku. The king who had spent decades trying to weaken or eliminate the episcopacy ultimately tried to advance his goal by creating more dioceses. This plan, like Gustav's plan of 1539, did not have the long-term impact desired by the king. Gustav purposely made these new dioceses subsidiary to the diocese out of which they were created. Over time, he envisioned that the older dioceses would lose power and influence to the newer ones.[9] The partition of the medieval Diocese of Turku is a case in point. Only about a quarter of the medieval diocese's parishes were apportioned to Vyborg. Most of the parishes in the Vyborg diocese were relatively new and lay in areas of new settlement. The population of the new diocese was likely much less than one-quarter of the old, but the new diocese would experience more of Finland's future growth of population and settlements. For decades after its founding, the Diocese of Vyborg found itself administered by the bishop in Turku when during the years 1564–1568 and 1578–1618 the episcopal seat was empty.[10] Despite the years of vacancy, the Diocese of Vyborg was the only new diocese created by Gustav that survived. By the early 1570s his son King John III had reestablished the original six dioceses west of the Gulf of Bothnia.[11]

While partitioning the diocese, Gustav took measures to end what was left of the Diocese of Turku's Cathedral Chapter. Before the chapter's meeting at Gripsholm Castle, four members remained. Gustav's partition immediately reduced that number to two: Mikael Agricola became bishop of Turku and thus was no longer a member of the cathedral chapter. Paulus Juusten was assigned to an entirely new diocese. The king appointed Petrus Ragvaldi vicar of the parish of Kemiö at the end of the year. Already at Gripsholm Castle, the king

8 Aarre Läntinen, "Viipurin hiippakunnan perustamisen esivaiheet," *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 80 (1982): 175–207.

9 Hjalmar Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:1, *Reformationstidearvet 1521–1611* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelsen, 1933), 356.

10 Jukka Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1980), 264–265.

11 Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:2, 7–8.

extended to Ragvaldi new forms of income in exchange for his prebend. The king's assumption of Ragvaldi's prebend was the first time that the king took a prebend from a living member of the chapter.[12] Only Canutus Johannis was not formally moved out of the chapter. He remained in Turku as Agricola's chief assistant. Sometime in 1555, Ericus Härkäpää replaced Juusten as rector, but that still left only two offices in a former twelve-member chapter filled. The last mention of the chapter in written sources was mention in April 1555 by Gustav Vasa.[13] In the rest of the Swedish kingdom, cathedral chapters suffered the same slow death as Turku's did.[14]

The partition of the medieval diocese left both bishops struggling to assert their authority. Few sources exist concerning Paulus Juusten's tenure as bishop of Vyborg, especially from the early years. Juusten had no preexisting support structures to rely on. He took over a diocese whose territory was becoming a theater of war. Agricola for his part had to reconstruct his authority over a diocese that was now smaller than it was when he ran it unofficially. The war with Russia would occupy much of his time as bishop. Neither Agricola nor Juusten had the benefit of a cathedral chapter to aid in administration and limiting royal power.

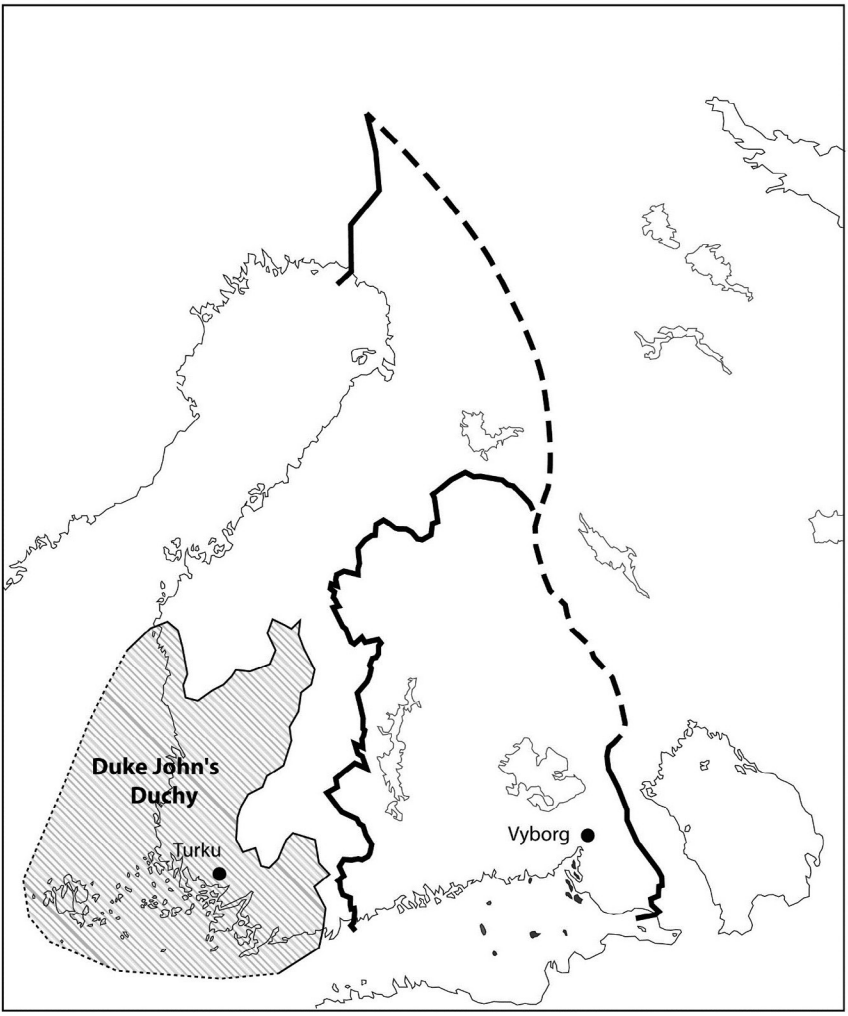
In the middle years of the 1550s, direct royal appointments of pastors to parishes increased significantly. The destruction of the medieval diocese and its administrative structures certainly gave the king fewer hindrances to influence directly local parish affairs. In his appointments of the clergy, the king did not aim for any kind of standardization. In the thirty-six appointments found in the sources from 1554–1560, no two were alike in terms of compensation. Some letters simply appointed a clergyman to a certain position. In others, he appointed a clergyman with a command to pay a tax on the tithe he earned. When in 1554 Gustav Vasa assigned Petrus Ragvaldi to the parish of Kemiö, he required Ragvaldi to pay the king "six barrels of butter in taxes (to us for a suitable time) while from the same parish twelve barrels are produced annually."[15]

12 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 25 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1910), 116; Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 204. Gustav's letter to Ragvaldi is published on page 303.

13 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 220.

14 Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans historia,* vol. 3:2, 9–10.

15 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*, vol. 24 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1906), 492–493.



MAP 3 *The Diocesan Partition of 1554 and Duke John's Duchy.* ADAPTED FROM JUKKA PAARMA, *HIIPPAKUNTAHALLINTO SUOMESSA 1554–1604* (HELSINKI: SUOMEN KIRKKOHISTORIALLINEN SEURA), 163, AS WELL AS MAP IN WIKIPEDIA COMMONS "DUCHY OF FINLAND 16TH CENTURY," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Duchy_of_finland_16th_century.jpg (ACCESSED 5 JULY 2016). ADAPTED WITH PERMISSION

War with Russia

The conflict 1554–1557 known as Gustav Vasa's War erupted after decades of refusal by both Sweden and Russia to address long-simmering tensions along their common border. As previously mentioned, the border based on the Peace of Nöteborg in 1323 was for the most part poorly demarcated and surrounded by few inhabitants. By its very nature, the border was a disincentive rather than a magnet for prolonged conflict.[16] Moreover, in the first half of the sixteenth century both Sweden and Russia saw each other as lesser threats. During Gustav Vasa's reign Sweden was primarily concerned by threats from central Europe, such as Lübeck, Christian III, or the religious wars in Germany. Russia for its part was concerned with the Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania.[17] This mutual reluctance for formal armed conflict motivated the mutual decisions to delay resolution of border disputes in 1527, 1537, and 1547.[18] This reluctance withstood incursions across the border by both sides. The Swedish king encouraged new settlements along and beyond the eastern boundary. In the years 1547–1549 Russian attacks on border villages resulted in the deaths of some three hundred. These attacks enhanced the willingness inside Finland to go to war.[19]

By the 1550s, both Sweden and Russia were no longer as preoccupied with threats to their south and west and thus adopted a more aggressive posture toward each other. In 1553 King Gustav Vasa gave a three-year tax holiday to those who settled the area of Riitamaa. Unlike the lands farther north along the border, Riitamaa was a contested sliver of territory on what both sides considered the essential and demarcated border—that along the Karelian Isthmus. The Russians responded to this move by demanding from Gustav recognition of their claim to Riitamaa as well as the territory west of it that extended to the Gulf of Finland. The Russians backed up these demands with a destructive attack on Riitamaa in the fall of 1553. Gustav encouraged his officials in the area

16 Jukka Korpela, *The World of Ladoga: Society, Trade, Transformation, and State Building in the Eastern Fennoscandian Boreal Forest Zone c. 1000–1555* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2008), 29.

17 See pp. 49, 113–115.

18 Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 203–206.

19 Uppsala Universitetsbibliothek Handskriftsavdelning UUB 121, 315; A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1846), 312–315; Helge Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, vol. 7, *Suomen historia 1523–1617* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1960), 203–206.

to respond in similar measure. During 1554 both sides staged raids against the other while they both collected their resources for larger operations. Before Gustav Vasa and local Finnish leaders could marshal the troops and resources for protracted conflict, a Russian force of as many as ten to twelve thousand men crossed the border in March 1555.[20] A Finnish force of about five hundred men repulsed the invaders at the village of Joutselkä. Citing reports from his commanders at the front, Gustav Vasa told his sons Eric and John that "one of our people could accomplish more than one thousand Russians."[21] This understanding of Finnish military prowess would live into the twentieth century, when during the Winter War of 1939–1940, the Finnish battle cry was "one Finn equals ten Russians."[22]

Gustav, the Church, and the War

Historians understand well that war contributes to statebuilding. The need to project armed force drives a state to take resources and develop mechanisms for taking those resources. The king demonstrated his commitment to the conflict by arriving in Finland with his sons, Crown Prince Eric and Prince John, as well as an entourage of over one thousand men, in August 1555. The king had not visited Finland since 1530. He would stay for nearly eleven months, making it the longest stay of any Swedish king in Finland. The king spent much of his time raising troops for the war. As he had done in other resource crises in the past, he turned to the church. In August 1555, the king appealed to the clergy in Ångermanland and Norrland for horses. These regions formed the most northern areas west of the Gulf of Bothnia and thus from there horses could be easily transferred over land to the front that extended into Ostrobothnia.[23] In February 1556, the king commanded the "clergy and the common folk" of the northern provinces of Ångermanland, Gästrikeland, Medelpad, Western Bothnia, and Ostrobothnia to enhance their defense capabilities. The king made similar requests of Finland's clergy.[24] In February 1555, Gustav directed his commanders to look to the landowning peasants and the clergy for

20 Kari Tarkiainen, ed., *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut 1557* (Helsinki: SKS, 2007), 36–37; Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 205;

21 *KGR*, vol. 25, 119.

22 Jason Lavery, *History of Finland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2006), 118–119.

23 *KGR*, vol. 25, 357–358.

24 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur,* vol. 26 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1911), 115–118.

horses and supplies.[25] In October 1555, the king wrote his bailiffs in Finland to encourage peasants and clergy to slaughter their cattle in order to save on fodder for horses.[26] In the next month, the king appealed to all of the inhabitants of Finland for money and military supplies.[27] In January 1556, the king turned to the clergy in Häme for money in order to pay troops in the area.[28] In May the king asked two of his commanders to check the suitability of a vicarage in Savo for a stud farm for horses.[29] The quartering of soldiers by clergymen was likely widespread.[30]

As the war moved into 1556, neither side gained a decisive advantage. In March 1556, the two sides agreed on a ceasefire along the front in Savo. Following his predecessors, Gustav Vasa turned to the human resources of the church for diplomacy. Gustav Vasa sent Canutus Johannis to Russia in the summer of 1556. Returning to the king in September 1556, Canutus informed the king that the Russians would receive a more formal peace delegation.[31] At the end of October, the king sent a delegation to Russia. Continuing medieval tradition, the delegation included ecclesiastical leaders: Archbishop Laurentius Petri of Uppsala, and Mikael Agricola, whom Gustav in the delegation's documents calls bishop rather than ordinary.[32] The delegation reached Vyborg on 10 December. The Russians had closed the border, likely in order to move troops away from the view of the delegation. The delegation was able to then to leave for Russia on 16 January. On 21 February the delegation reached Moscow.[33]

For Finnish historical scholarship and popular historical memory, this delegation is significant not because of its success in ending the war, but rather because of the participation of Mikael Agricola in it. A common popular understanding of Agricola's role in this delegation stems from the author Paavo Haavikko's drama from the 1970s, *Agricola ja kettu* (Agricola and the fox). In this play Agricola is portrayed as a leader of the delegation to Tsar Ivan IV.

25 *KGR*, vol. 25, 43–49.

26 *KGR*, vol. 25, 462–463.

27 *KGR*, vol. 25, 468–469.

28 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 9 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1857), 117–118.

29 *KGR*, vol. 26, 308.

30 Eeva Ojanen, *Tammelan seurakunnan historia* (Tammela: Tammelan seurakunta, 1990), 50.

31 Tarkiainen, *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut*, 36–37.

32 Tarkiainen, *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut*, 104.

33 Tarkiainen, *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut*, 61.

The bishop's diplomatic activity consists of defending Finland's interests between Gustav Vasa and Ivan the Terrible, kind of an early modern Urho Kekkonen defending Finland's neutrality between East and West.[34] In actuality, Agricola did not lead the delegation. In the pecking order of the delegation he was third, after the nobleman Sten Eriksson Leijonhufuvd and Archbishop Laurentius Petri of Uppsala. Agricola's specific role in the negotiations is unclear, but there were several good reasons to include him in the delegation. Agricola had established a strong record of loyal service to the king over several decades. Even though Gustav had partioned the old medieval Diocese of Turku, Agricola was still one of the most if not the most influential figure in the kingdom east of the Gulf of Bothnia. He was an incredibly gifted linguist with a firm command of a variety of languages: Latin, Greek, and German, in addition to Finnish and Swedish. At the outset of negotiations with the Russians, it was often unknown what language or languages would be most useful.

In March 1557, the two sides signed a peace treaty that ended the conflict but resolved none of its underlying causes. On the return journey home, Agricola became sick. He died on 9 April 1557 shortly after crossing the border back into Finland.[35] Bishop Paulus Juusten witnessed Agricola's burial when the body arrived in Vyborg. Juusten wrote about the event, "but when, after they confirmed the peace, returned from Russia, Master Mikael caught an illness; his health was not very strong even earlier. He encountered sudden death on his journey, and passed away in the Lord in the village of Kyrönniemi. He was then buried on the Monday after Palm Sunday [12 April 1557] in the presence of the archbishop and many others."[36]

Agricola represented in his very person the interaction of royal and Lutheran impulses. He led the vernacularization of the church. He served the king in many matters of state. He died doing what Finnish clergymen had been doing for centuries—acting as agents of the Swedish king's diplomacy toward his eastern neighbor.

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34 Paavo Haavikko, *Agricola ja kettu*, in Paavo Haavikko, *Sulka: 12 näytelmää* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1997), 197–243; Urho Kekkonen (1900–1986) was Finland's president (1956–1981) at the time Haavikko wrote his play. Leading a small democracy in the shadow of Soviet power, Kekkonen pursued a policy of creating a place for Finland between the blocs of the Cold War divide. Lavery, *History of Finland*, 138–142.

35 Tarkiainen, *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut*, 78–86.

36 In addition to Juusten's account, two documents from the diplomatic mission mention Agricola's death. One confirms Juusten's statement that he died in Kyröniemi, one other states he died in the neighboring village of Seivästö. All three confirm that he died shortly after crossing the border. Tarkiainen, *Ruotsin ja Venäjän rauhanneuvottelut*, 78–86.

The Final Royal Confiscations

Agricola's account book of 1542 was not his last assessment of ecclesiastical wealth.[37] In the fall of 1554, he made an account of portable property still held by seven parishes in southwestern Finland as well as the Naantali Abbey.[38] The church in Pargas was representative of the other six that Agricola visited. This church had a silver monstrance, two chalices (one silver and another partially gilded in silver), a silver cross, two silver vessels for chrisma, "one little piece" of viaticum, one chasuble, four chimeres, five choir vestments, five "mass and altar clothes," and a dalmatic. Gustav Vasa used this account when he confiscated precious metals from Finland churches a few years later in 1557–1558.[39]

Gustav Vasa took advantage of the war and his extended presence in Finland to complete the process of confiscation of the church's wealth. As has been mentioned earlier, the church in Finland kept much of its wealth longer than the church in other dioceses. Several factors probably played a role in this delay. One was, as previously mentioned, geographical distance from Stockholm, where the king deposited his confiscations. Gustav might have held back on confiscations as a means of keeping resources in Finland in case of war. When war started in the 1550s, Gustav then took the resources that, from his standpoint, the church had been holding for him.

The confiscations largely went in the order of clerical incomes, the prebends, and then precious metals. Shortly after arriving in Finland in August 1555, Gustav Vasa commanded the deans of the diocese in Turku to make an inventory of the clergy's remaining income.[40] He used these accounts to reduce further the clergy's income. Since 1553 the clergy had to pay a tax on its share of the tithe that it received. In 1556 the king then took from the clergy its incomes from two other ecclesiastical imposts: the food allowance and the tax on butter. Gustav did not lower the clergy's taxes, and thus, unless one had a special arrangement with the king, a clergyman had to pay these increased taxes with much less income.[41]

Gustav's last impositions on ecclesiastical income reached beyond the point of diminishing to the point of negative returns. This decrease in income and

37 See pp. 98–99.

38 A. I. Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 8 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1856), 157–163.

39 *HFH,* vol. 8, 157–163; Olle Källström, "Finlands offer av kyrksilver under Gustav Vasa," *Forvännen* 35 (1940): 207–216.

40 *HFH*, vol. 8, 372.

41 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 212–213.

increase in taxes became so burdensome for the clergy that by 1556 the king and Prince John began to make grants of aid to the clergy.[42] Like in the letters of appointment that outlined income, the levels of aid varied greatly. In some cases, the Crown exempted pastors solely dependent on their one-third of the tithe from paying tax on it.[43] For some Gustav could pull levers of support from outside of the church's fiscal structures. In 1555, Gustav made a land holding of a Pastor Karl in Helsinki noble or *frälse*. The pastor's father had belonged to the *frälse*, but there is no evidence that Karl provided the horse needed for himself to claim his land as tax exempt.[44] Sometimes pastors were able to buy themselves relief. Vicar Jöns Laurentii Torsth of Vesilahti sold two of his farms to the king in 1557 and received in return ten pounds of grain (rye and barley) annually for eight years.[45] Even though the king had to backtrack on taxation of the clergy and give them direct support, this too strengthened their control over the clergy. The clergy had become more economically independent upon the Crown.

Gustav sought to harmonize and simplify ecclesiastical taxation by eliminating the differences in taxation between the eastern and western parts of the medieval diocese, a difference made more pronounced by the correspondence of these different zones of taxation to the two new dioceses. In the east, taxation was levied largely in the form of hides.[46] With all of the settlement that had occurred over the previous twenty years or so, the king decided it was time for these eastern parts of Finland to start behaving like the south and west and pay their taxes in grain and butter. In an open letter in June 1556 the king appealed to the people of Savo to pay the tithe. Gustav made three arguments for paying the tithe. First, the tithe long had been "God's, and so also our own written law of Sweden." Second, the tithe was needed to take care of the poor as well as "those who take care of the church," among whom he listed "bishops, prelates, dear vicars, and spiritual fathers of the spirit, among them our seminarians, headmasers, students, hospitals, and many others." Third, the disease, famine, and war that the people of Savo were experiencing resulted from its

42 Letters of this kind are found in, among other published primary sources, K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, vol. 1 (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1892).

43 KA Kuninkaalliset kirjeet 6808, fol. 47r; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 213.

44 *KGR*, vol. 25, 480; Henrik Impola, *Frälset och dess rusttjänst i Finland på 1500-talet* (Saarijärvi: Genealogiska Samfundet i Finland, 2011), 230.

45 K. G. Leinberg, ed., *Handlingar rörande finska kyrkan och presterskapet*, n.s., vol. 3 (Helsinki: Hufvudstadets nya tryckeri, 1898), 7.

46 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 212–213.

lack of gratitude to God as shown by not paying their tithe. Nowhere in the letter does the king admit that most of the people mentioned would receive little if any of the tax revenue. Most in Savo likely did not accept Gustav's representation of the tithe. Many had come to this part of Finland from other parts where they witnessed how he took over the tithe of grain and dairy products. The presence of bailiffs in the area and their role in tax collection must have given them some hint as about to the king's possible intentions. Nonetheless, the people of Savo for its part probably saw it best to pay the tithe, especially in a time of external threat.[47]

With the cathedral chapter now moribund, the king took the last of its resources. He eliminated the last streams of income for the cathedral chapter, charges to the chapter paid by deans and prebends, by 1557. The chapter by then no longer had any revenue streams for its operation as an administrative body.[48] Meanwhile, the king phased out last of the prebends for members of the cathedral chapter. In 1555 the number of prebends held by associates of the chapter was at five: Mikael Agricola had three, and Canutus Johannis held one. The treasurer of Turku Cathedral, one Olaus Petri, held one as well, although the treasurer was not a formal member of the cathedral chapter. The Crown took Agricola's prebends when he died in 1557. In the same year Olaus Petri lost his prebend after Gustav Vasa named him vicar of Uskela. In 1559 Canutus Johannis lost his prebend to the king.[49]

The death of Agricola marked the beginning of the final confiscation of church silver. Most of the recorded confiscations were in Finland Proper. Some twenty kilograms were taken from Turku Cathedral alone. Among the items was the scepter of the bishop of Turku, taken by royal officials after Agricola's death in December 1557.[50] The confiscations of silver from the church coincided with a process of taxing silver from the population at large. Money and precious metals were taken from the testaments of nobles. In November 1555, royal bailiff Rasmus Ludvigsson took coin and silver from the widow of Björn Classon, one of Gustav's most trusted noblemen in Finland. The amount of silver taken from the church was only a small percentage of the overall amount

47 *KGR*, vol. 26, 357–360.

48 Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 212–213.

49 Kauko Pirinen, "Keskiajan ja uskonpuhdistuskauden tuomiokapituli," in Kauko Pirinen, ed., *Turun tuomikapituli 1276–1976* (Turku: Turun arkkihiippakunnan tuomiokapituli, 1976), 72.

50 Olle Källström, *Medeltida kyrksilver från Sverige och Finland förlorat genom Gustav Vasas konfiskationer* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1939), 325–326; Pirinen, *Uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa*, 79.

of silver taken in 1555 and 1556. In an accounting of silver taken in 1555 the church accounted for only 363 silver marks of over 20,000 silver marks collected. In 1556 it was 363 of over nine thousand collected.[51] In 1558 virtually all of the confiscations recorded are from the church. From the church in Maaria was confiscated a monstrance, a crown, a large and a small bowl, a chalice with paten, and a cross. Unlike previous inventories of confiscated goods, this one included what the church could keep. In this case, the church was able to keep two silver chalices and patens and a silver cross. This pattern of confiscation in Maaria was representative of those in other churches for which a record remains.[52]

These confiscations of the last prebends and silver demonstrate again the king's Reformation by attrition. It took the king almost his entire reign to empty the church of its wealth. It did not happen overnight, and he often waited for deaths of clergy or crises in order to confiscate more from the church.

John's Duchy of Finland

The partition of the Diocese of Turku was not the only reapportionment of authority in 1550s Finland. In 1556 the king made his second son John duke of Finland, giving him a territory that encompassed the Åland Islands, Finland Proper, and Satakunta. In 1557 Gustav added the province of Raseborg along the southern coast. In 1560, just weeks before his death, Gustav published his political testament. In it, he created duchies for John's younger brothers, Charles and Magnus. Charles's duchy covered the provinces of Södermanland and Närke; Magnus's included Dalarna and Östergötland. The dukes received wide-ranging autonomy with the foreign policy solely reserved for the king.[53] When Gustav's son Eric became king in 1560, his younger brothers continued to hold their duchies.

After decades of working to create a centralized kingdom, why did Gustav Vasa dilute royal authority by creating these duchies? Gustav never clarified his motivations, and the king seemed to have been moved by many factors. The king in his testament hoped that the brothers would support each other. Gustav's sons would rule the kingdom for most of the half-century after their

51 RA Röda nummerserien 19.

52 A. I . Arwidsson, ed., *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder*, vol. 6 (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt & Söner, 1853), 326–327.

53 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta: Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809*, 3rd edition (Helsinki: WSOY, 2008), 93–94.

father's death because of their inability rather than their ability to cooperate. Gustav likely wanted to enhance the image of his kingdom by creating these duchies and giving his sons the title of duke. In his dealings with the Russians, Gustav made frequent reference to John as duke of Finland. Gustav might have created the duchies in order to strengthen the image of his family in respect to the political elite in the Swedish kingdom. Gustav Vasa came from a well-established *frälse* family that had been involved in politics for generations, but his family before his reign was not among the most powerful. The duchies made the monarchy look larger. To unseat the Vasa dynasty, one could not just overthrow the king.[54]

John's duchy lasted for only some seven years when in 1563 King Eric XIV imprisoned his brother in a power struggle. John overthrew Erik as king in a rebellion in 1568.[55] John created a sophisticated duchy during his short time as duke of Finland. At his residence at Turku Castle, a court culture developed not seen elsewhere in the kingdom. He created a council of nobles much like the Council of the Realm. He had his own treasury.[56] John created close ties with the church. Sweden would have no king more interested and knowledgeable in ecclesiastical affairs than John. He demonstrated these traits already as duke of Finland.

John expressed his interest in the church in two ways. First, he supported the church directly. He gave tens of pastors in Finland economic support—even those outside of his duchy. In a foreshadowing of his Catholic sympathies that he would later demonstrate as king, he subsidized the Naantali Abbey.[57] Second, he made tens of pastoral appointments.[58] Like his father, John sought to create direct ties with individual clergymen as a way of strengthening his temporal authority. For example, he received a loyalty oath from four pastors in the Åland Islands in June 1558. In this oath, the clergymen pledged to the

54 Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta*, 92–96.

55 Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 231–241.

56 C. J. Gardberg, *Åbo slott under den äldre Vasatiden* (Helsinki: Suomen muinaisyhdstys, 1959), 210–380; C. J. Gardberg, "Linnasta palatsiksi," in *Suomen taide*, vol. 1, ed. Salme Sarajas-Korte et al. (Espoo: Weilin+Göös, 1987), 297–302. Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 230–235; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 194–195.

57 Birigit Klockars, *I nådens dal: Klosterfolk och andra c. 1440–1590* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie Och Antikvitets Akademi, 1979), 188–191.

58 An inventory of these appointments is in a diary of correspondence by John, edited by K. G. Leinberg, *Hertig Johans af Finland diarium öfver utgångna bref: Efter en urkund i Svenska riksarkivet* (Helsinki: K. G. Leinberg, 1891). Letters are found in the published primary sources from the time, such as *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur*.

well-known royal expectation that they proclaim the Word of God "clearly, purely, and without falsehood." They pledged to remain vigilant against any "damage and ruin" that might threaten the duke.[59]

John granted the clergy support and patronage after decades of his father's confiscations. The duke's investment in the church likely paid dividends when he became king in 1568. During the king's long reign, he sought a reconciliation with Roman Catholicism. His wife, the Polish princes Katarina Jagiellonica, was Catholic, as was their son and heir to the throne, Sigismund. John's irenicist policies raised relatively less opposition in Finland than in other parts of the kingdom.[60] Might have John's patronage of the church as duke been at least a partial reason for the lack of opposition? His generosity to the church likely created a positive image for him that lasted into his reign as king.

Petrus Follingius

In 1558 Gustav Vasa appointed Petrus Follingius as Agricola's successor. The new bishop's background and qualifications resembled those of his predecessor. Follingius was born the son of a peasant in Östergötland. He attended the Cathedral School in Linköping and then continued his studies at the University of Copenhagen. After graduating from university, Follingius returned to his home area and became rector of the Linköping Cathedral School by 1547 at the latest. In 1550 he became the vicar of Kärna parish in the Diocese of Linköping. He continued to teach at the Cathedral School and became a member of the cathedral chapter for the diocese.[61] Like Agricola, Skytte, and several other bishops before him, Follingius had strong credentials in the field of education and had served in ecclesiastical administration. Unlike either Agricola or Skytte, he worked as a parish pastor.

Follingius had one major handicap though: he was not from the Diocese of Turku. For some two hundred years previous all of the bishops of Turku had either been born in Finland or had some long-standing stake in the diocese before becoming bishop, including Gustav Vasa's first three appointments to the

59 Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Bidrag till Finlands historia*, vol. 3, *Spridda urkunder från tiden 1531–1560* (Helsinki: J. Simelii, 1904), 395–397.

60 Jason Lavery, "A Frontier of Reform: Finland in the Reformation Era," in *Migration und Kulturtransfer*, ed. Otfried Czaika and Heinrich Holze (Stockholm: Biblis, 2012), 60–75.

61 "Follingius, Petrus Nicolai," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=671 (accessed 1 Oct. 2015).

leadership of the diocese: Ericus Svenonis, Martinus Skytte, and Mikael Agricola. Follingius had no previous ties to the diocese. The king now wanted a diocesan leader whose allegiance to the king was unencumbered by local sentiment.

If tradition had been followed, the next bishop likely would have been Canutus Johannis, Agricola's closest assistant. Paulus Juusten could have claimed successorship, because he too served the diocese before partition. The appointment indicates the end of the Finnish clergy's influence in selecting one of its own for the position of bishop. The appointment of the bishop happened solely as a function of royal power. Juusten stated that the appointment was made "at the advice of enemies of the Finnish language." Juusten specifically names a jurist, Andreas Olai, and a Danish-born chamberlain, Hans Thomasson. These two men worked at Duke John's court.[62] Two fragments of evidence, however, suggest that these advisors' support for Follingius, if at all decisive in the king's decision, did not reflect the duke's views. First, the totality of John's actions as duke and king suggests that he was anything but an enemy of the Finnish language. John was the most gifted linguist and devoted humanist to ascend to the Swedish throne. Historians have widely believed that John learned some Finnish, although the evidence for this is quite thin.[63] Second, John in 1582 explicitly denied backing Follingius's appointment, stating that his father imposed him on the diocese. John stated that he had another candidate in mind, one that he did not name. Nothing contradicts John's account of events a quarter of a century later, but one should keep in mind the context of John's statement. John, king in 1582, was involved in a power struggle with his brother, Duke Charles. John was using the case of Follingius as precedent for how dukes should respect royal prerogative in episcopal appointments.[64] No sources besides Juusten's chronicle corroborates Juusten's more general claim of Follingius's opposition to the cultivation of the Finnish language. One needs to consider the strong possibility that Juusten's criticism of Follingius was in part motivated by his own desire to become bishop of Turku.

Even if one acquits Follingius of enmity toward the Finnish language, it still appears that he did little to cultivate good relations with the clergy. Juusten called him "a cunning and devious man … Pastors presented many complaints about his greediness and desire for pilfering, which could be easily proven."[65] In May

62 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 62.

63 Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, 230–231; *Roberts*, *Early Vasas*, 261.

64 Anders Anton Stiernman, *Alla riksdagars och mötens besluth, samt arfföreningar, regementsformer, försäkringar och bewillningar, som på allmenna riksdagar och möten, ifrån år 1521*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Johann Heinrich Werner, 1728), 351.

65 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 62.

1559, the king criticized Follingius's diocesan leadership. The king had apparently received through his commander at Turku Castle, Joakim Bulgrin, complaints from the clergy about Follingius. The king responded by saying "as far as Master Petrus is concerned in Turku and the complaints against him, we take them lightly, for we remember that he desires … to assume great will and dignity, which is hardly necessary, either by visitations and otherwise. For the sake of this he should appear in a way so that his bishop's hat is not put so high that it does not fall from his head."[66] The king's warning suggests that he did not want to undermine his bishop publically, but over the long haul was not prepared to defend a prima donna. Gustav had spent too much capital eliminating bishops as princely figures.

Follingius during his episcopacy organized many visitations and meetings with pastors. He composed statutes for ecclesiastical administration. He was the first bishop in decades who sought frequent interaction and coordination with local clergy. None of Follingius's predecessors in Gustav Vasa's era—Ericus Svenonis, Martinus Skytte, or Mikael Agricola—worked to lead the clergy in such a comprehensive, or, probably from the standpoint of many clergymen, invasive way. Follingius was not only telling pastors how to manage their affairs; he was an outsider telling pastors how to manage their affairs. His inability to communicate directly in the first language of most of his clergy and congregations probably created even more tension. More likely Follingius's leadership style rather than his attitude toward the Finnish language raked the coals of resentment among the clergy. Ultimately, the clergy's dissatisfaction likely did contribute to Follingius's removal by King Eric XIV in May 1563. Eric appointed him chaplain of his court, and then in 1565 the king named him bishop of Reval as Sweden was expanding its control over the eastern Baltic. Follingius died before he could assume this post.[67]

Folllingius's visitations constitute one of the few signs of continuing Lutheran reform of the church after the partition of the medieval diocese. In the years between the partition of the medieval diocese and Gustav Vasa's death there is little evidence of significant steps of further reform of the church's beliefs and practices. In his chronicle, Juusten mentions that Agricola made a visitation to the parishes of Ostrobothnia in 1555.[68] A third printing of Agricola's spelling primer was published in 1559.[69] The specifics of Agricola's role in this

66 J. A. Almquist, ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur,* vol. 29 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1916), 509.

67 "Follingius, Petrus Nicolai," http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=671; Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604,* 48.

68 Juusten, *Piispainkronikka*, 61.

69 Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), 165–166.

posthumous printing are unknown. The next known printing of an ecclesiastical text would not occur until Paulus Juusten published his Finnish Mass in 1575. Only one student left Finland for studies in Central Europe. Henricus Jacobi was Gustav Vasa's chaplain 1550–1553, and then he became vicar of Porvoo. He spent five years studying in Wittenberg and Jena 1554–1559. He returned in 1559 to take the position of rector of the Turku Cathedral School.[70] Several factors contributed to this decline in religious reform. The partition of the diocese forced both bishops but Juusten in particular to focus on administrative matters. The war with Russia diverted economic as well as human resources from the church. The confiscation of the church's last prebends and sources of income separate from the king made it more difficult for the church to dedicate funds for foreign study.

Starting with the partition of the Diocese of Turku in 1554, the full brunt of royal reform came to Finland. Gustav Vasa's partition of the medieval Diocese of Turku in 1554 created and facilitated a basis for the king to advance royal reform in a part of the kingdom that had previously avoided many aspects of it. The new dioceses brought the church administratively more into the royal fold. The king demonstrated a willingness to fill episcopal positions based on royal rather than local considerations. The king through direct appointments and changes to pastors' compensation extended his influence over the clergy. The king used the partition of the medieval diocese and the outbreak of war with Russia to take more wealth from an administratively weakened church. The king's actions in respect to the medieval diocese illuminate his piecemeal and opportunistic approach to taking over the church's wealth and administration.

The partition demonstrates Gustav's inability to eliminate the episcopacy. Many of the medieval dioceses that Gustav partitioned in the 1550s were reconstituted by his son King John III. The partition of the medieval Diocese of Turku did not become permanent until the 1600s. In the years 1578–1618 the Diocese of Vyborg was reamalgamated with Turku. The resiliency of the episcopacy was a limit of statebuilding that the king could not completely overcome.

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70 "Henricus Jacobi (K noin 1582)," in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721*, Kyösti Väänänen, comp., http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/paimenmuisto/?eid=970 (acccessed 1 Oct. 2015).

Conclusion

In his chronicle of Finland's bishops, Paulus Juusten wrote "on Michaelmas [29 September] in the year of our Lord 1560 the most gracious and kind Lord Gustav, the king of the Swedes, Goths, and the Wends, the father of the Swedish realm, died. The crown has fallen from our head. Woe to us, for we have committed a sin."[1] Juusten does not suggest what specific sin caused the king's death. Considering the widespread impact of the king's long rule on his subjects, the possibilities of transgressions, however defined, are too numerous to count.

In keeping with his tendency later in his reign to redistribute some of his confiscations back to the church, Gustav bequeathed money to the church's dioceses. The medieval Diocese of Turku received a total of 1,100 Swedish marks, four hundred of it went to the truncated Diocese of Turku, and seven hundred went to the new Diocese of Vyborg. Of these sums, both dioceses received one hundred marks for schools. Vyborg Cathedral received four hundred marks and the city's hospital two hundred marks. Turku's cathedral and hospital received only two hundred and one hundred marks respectively.[2] There are two possible and complimentary reasons for the larger grant to Vyborg. First, the diocese was new and lacked the financial means of the old one. Second, the Diocese of Vyborg suffered more from the war with Russia. The king's bequests to Finland's church were miniscule compared to what he had taken from it during his reign. The king's bequest was preceded by that of his second wife, Margareta Leijonhufvud. She left upon her death in 1551 five hundred marks for Turku Cathedral and two hundred marks each for the city's hospital and the Cathedral School. The hospital and school in Vyborg each received one hundred marks. Margareta never renounced her Catholic faith, yet another example of the heterodox religious environment of the Swedish kingdom under Gustav Vasa.[3]

The major thesis of this book is that the Reformation of the Swedish kingdom's church was driven by both statebuilding, also known as royal reform, and Lutheranism. These two different points of departure interacted often

1 Paavali Juusten, *Suomen piispainkronikka*, trans. Simo Heininen (Helsinki: SKS, 1988), 62.

2 Emil Hildebrand and Oscar Alin, eds., *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521–1718*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt & söner, 1887), 699.

3 Kauko Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen murroksessa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1962), 200.

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in tandem with each other. For the king, greater control over the church was key to the creation of strong state institutions. A state by definition exercises a monopoly over legal violence and taxation, and both the church and Crown exercised both powers when Gustav took the throne. At the outset of his reign, the church was wealthier than the Crown. Gustav needed the church's wealth in order to pay off his immediate debts to Lübeck and to fund a strong state over the long term.

For all of the king's reputation as an impulsive personality, he waged for the most part a calculated campaign of attrition against the church, waiting for opportunities of least resistance to present themselves. If the king pushed too hard, he risked rebellion, such as the upheavls in Dalarna 1524–1533, the Västergötland rebellion in 1529, or Nils Dacke's revolt in 1542–1543. The king took the church's income streams and precious metals through various arrangements at different periods throughout the kingdom. Some taxes on the church, such as the bell tax, were collected differently in Finland than in other parts of the realm. The king confiscated silver more slowly from Finland's churches, only focusing on precious metals in the diocese until later in his reign. As demonstrated in the Diocese of Turku, monastic institutions were dissolved through attrition rather than immediate closure.

In respect to the church's organizational structure, the king sought to create a church without intermediate bodies between him and individual parishes. In particular, he aimed to eliminate dioceses, bishops, and cathedral chapters. Failing to eliminate all intermediate bodies, dioceses and bishops in particular, the king ultimately made the administration very flexible to his interests. He created new dioceses, such as the Diocese of Vyborg, and replaced disagreeable diocesan heads. He kept cooperative bishops in office. In the case of Martinus Skytte of Turku, Gustav went to great lengths to keep the bishop from retiring. Skytte's successor, Mikael Agricola, was similarly cooperative in respect to the king's royal reform program. The king exercised his appointment power over all positions in the church, even parish pastors. King Gustav supported the creation of new parishes in eastern Finland that church officials had wanted for almost a half-century. His direct grants of aid to clergy fostered a clientele between the king and clergy. The king's decision to allow cathedral chapters to disappear through attrition further weakened the independence of dioceses from the king. The case of the Diocese of Turku provides one of the best-documented examples of the elimination of a cathedral chapter by attrition.

The Lutheran reformers had a similar deliberate, pragmatic, and flexible approach to reforming the church's beliefs and practices. Many of the widely accepted metrics of Lutheran reform derived from the German experience do not apply to Finland or the Swedish kingdom as a whole. Scholarly and popular

historical understandings of the Lutheran Reformation often consist of heroic declarations of principle and incessant conflict. The Reformation in Finland in Gustav Vasa's time had neither. For a variety of reasons, the implementation of Lutheran reform was selective and deliberate. Finland's reformers did not confront a church mired in corruption, stagnation, or decline. The fifteenth century witnessed significant growth and innovation in Finland's church. As a result, the people did not stand ready to embrace the arrival of Lutheran reform. Any reform of the church could not gain traction on a widespread sense of corruption and decay. It would have to offer an even better alternative to what the official church was offering. It would have to cultivate rather than expect new followers. Lutheran reform ideas took root because of a widespread tolerance of divergent understandings of reform of the church's teachings and practices. The matriculation of Finnish students at Martin Luther's University of Wittenberg starting in the 1530s occurred with the active collaboration of Bishop Martinus Skytte of Turku, a Dominican monk.

Lutheran reformers accepted a deliberate approach to change, because the clergy was divided over how to reform the church's teachings and practices. Even those clergymen who drew inspiration from Lutheran reform did not always constitute a programmatically unified faction. It seemed, especially in the 1530s, that there were as many reform programs as clergymen. Despite this, reform of the church as a community of belief did proceed based on a few common denominators. The most important of these was vernacularizing the church. Long before the Swedish kingdom's church became irrevocably Lutheran in the 1590s, it had become irrevocably vernacular. The process of vernacularization of the church in the diocese was a much more complicated undertaking in the Diocese of Turku than in many other parts of Europe. The diocese was bilingual with both Swedish and Finnish speakers lacking religious materials in the vernacular before the 1530s. Finnish, the language of the vast majority in the diocese, had no substantial literary tradition—sacred or profane—to build on. A comprehensive written language had to develop before vernacularization in Finnish could even occur. The emphasis on vernacularization was a strategic dedication of intellectual resources. There were only a handful of clergymen, such as Petrus Särkilahti, Mikael Agricola, and Paulus Juusten who at any one time had the education and station to advance the reform of the church as a religious institution. They were saddled with administrative duties and thus had limited time for the creative work necessary to imagine and then implement reform.

Attempts to put the Mass and scripture into Finnish were widespread, but the driving force behind the process ultimately was Mikael Agricola. Agricola's translation of the New Testament, parts of the Old Testament, Mass, and

handbook gave the church the essential basis for performing services in Finnish. His spelling primer of 1543 presented both the basic elements of the Finnish language and Christian faith. The emphasis on vernacularization in the Diocese of Turku has given the Reformation in Finland both a religious and national significance in popular memory. If it were not for the work of Agricola and others to make Finnish a literary language in the sixteenth century, it is quite possible that a largely Finnish-speaking Finland would not exist today.

Royal and Lutheran reform impulses gained traction because they interacted in a largely harmonious way with each other. The king did not begin his reign by fully embracing Lutheran reform. In fact, to secure his support among leading clergymen Gustav in his opening months as king at first condemned Lutheranism. He then moved to tolerate Lutheranism. At the Västerås *riksdag* of 1527, the king and estates gave *de facto* legal protection to Lutheran reform. The further and gradual institutionalization of Lutheran reform occurred at subsequent meetings of the estates and church councils. Gustav embraced Lutheran reform slowly for two reasons. First, he clearly wanted no reform of the church that would disturb his takeover of the church's wealth and administration. The outright opposition of many to Lutheran reform west of the Gulf of Bothnia made Lutheran reform a problematic vehicle for his royal reform of the church. Second, the king discovered only over time that Lutheranism corresponded more closely than Catholicism to his own understanding of Christianity as a belief system as well as his vision of the church's place in society and its relationship to the state. Although not a systematic or highly educated theological thinker, the king expressed his strong preference for a less complex form of Christianity that proclaimed, as he put it, "the pure Word of God." Lutheran reformers wanted a church that was less opulent and involved in temporal affairs. Terms such as "stripping of the altars" have become part of the larger scholarly understanding of the Protestant Reformations.[4] This obviously appealed to a king who wanted the church's opulence (and then some) as well as its authority in worldly affairs.

On what specific aspects of reforming the Swedish kingdom's church did Lutheran and royal reform cooperate? Where lay the consensus of reform? The two approaches to reform held that change had to be deliberate. Both Lutheran and royal reform aimed to create a less opulent church. Sometimes the Crown and the clergy would disagree over what ecclesiastical resources represented opulence, but they agreed on the same basic objective. The king

4 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

wanted to take and reduce the church's wealth in order to strengthen the state, Lutheran reformers wanted to reduce the church's wealth in order to refocus the church's mission to saving souls. Starting with Laurentius Andreae's letter of 1524 calling for the placement of ecclesiastical property at the king's disposal, the church outright enabled the king in his confiscation of the church's property. As early as 1526, the kingdom's bishops agreed to surrender some of their diocesan income to the king. Mikael Agricola provided inventories of the church's wealth for the king in 1541 and 1554. Until the king had a full complement of bailiffs throughout Finland in the 1550s, he relied extensively on clergymen to collect church taxes for him. The clergy of the diocese was not a passive bystander in the king's statebuilding program; it was an agent of it.

Another reason why statebuilding and Lutheran reform collaborated well was that Lutheran reform advocated a smaller footprint for the church in temporal affairs and accepted a greater role for the king in ecclesiastical affairs. The church surrendered without a fight much of the church's judicial power. The king took the bishops' castles and ended their use of large armed entourages. In the Diocese of Turku, the king took the bishop's castle of Kuusisto without any ecclesiastical opposition.

The king and the clergy agreed on the desirability of vernacularizing the church. In various ways the king supported vernacularization, primarily by placing the one publishing house in the kingdom that was under his control at the disposal of those who wanted to put the church into the language of the people. Vernacularization supported the king's idea of proclaiming the Word of God purely.

In the Diocese of Turku, collaboration between the two agendas of reform was not seemless in the field of education. The only two known statements of opposition by the clergy as a group to the king centered on the preservation of educational institutions. Gustav actively presided over a systematic decline of the kingdom's educational infrastructure. Bishop Martinus Skytte did what he could during the king's confiscations of wealth to revive the medieval tradition of sending the diocese's best and brightest to Europe's universities. Mikael Agricola as rector of the Cathedral School dragged his feet in meeting with the king's requests for students to serve the state.

In Finland social changes did not set the stage for reform of the church. Rather, reform set the stage for social changes. Lutheran and royal reform had impacts on all four major social groups: the clergy, the nobility, the urban burghers, and the peasantry. In an agrarian society, the most important socioeconomic currency is land. In the Swedish kingdom, it was the basis for taxation, social standing, as well as wealth. In the redistribution of land, the king was obviously the biggest winner. Members of the nobility or *frälse* gained land

as well. Some burghers and even wealthy peasants were able to claim ecclesiastical land lawfully. These newly acquired lands formed the basis for further exchanges of land. The church's footprint in the diocese's few urban areas declined further with the dissolution of monasteries.

On many levels, location is important to understanding the course of the Reformation in Finland. Gustav Vasa implemented many of his royal reform initiatives later in the Diocese of Turku than in other dioceses. The diocese's leadership did not participate in the conflicts within the church, such as those in the 1530s. In the Diocese of Turku, there were no popular uprisings on the scale of those west of the Gulf of Bothnia. To an even greater degree than the rest of the kingdom, the Diocese of Turku lay far away from the Reformation-era conflicts in Europe that created strong confessional boundaries and identities. Finland formed the northeastern frontier of Lutheran Europe. A frontier is often defined as the physical limit of a system or authority. This understanding implies that the authority or system in question is at its weakest in the frontier. Lutheran influences reached Finland directly from Wittenberg, from across the Gulf of Bothnia, and from across the Gulf of Finland. Finland exploited its position as a frontier to alter Lutheran reform ideas to meet local conditions. Geopolitical location had an additional impact on the course of the Reformation in the Diocese of Turku in that the Russian threat dampened possible widespread opposition to reforms of the church seen elsewhere in the Swedish kingdom.

The death of Gustav Vasa in 1560 did not end the Reformation of the Swedish kingdom's church. The church was clearly a royal institution, but Lutheranism was not yet fully entrenched. Royal supremacy over the church allowed future rulers to influence the church's orientation.[5] Gustav's immediate successor, his eldest son Eric XIV, restored some of the administrative independence of the church. Early in Eric's reign, Calvinist immigrants at the king's court led some contemporaries and historians to believe that the king himself was embracing Calvinism. The king never embraced Calvinism. In any case, the outbreak of war with Denmark in 1563 took his focus away from the church. In 1566 he became embroiled in conflicts with many in the high nobility and his brother John, conflicts that led to his overthrow in 1568.[6]

King John III (r. 1568–1592) continued his brother's policy of reestablishing some of the church's administrative autonomy. For example, he allowed

5 The period of Finland's Reformation from 1560–1611 will be the topic of the author's next book project.

6 Michael Roberts, *The Early Vasas: A History of Sweden* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 218–241; 274–275.

for the introduction of a church ordinance in 1571 and restored the cathedral chapters, although not with all of their medieval powers. At the same time, John sought a reconciliation with Rome. His wife, the Polish princess Katarina Jagiellonica, and his son, Sigismund, were Roman Catholic. John introduced a new liturgy, the so-called "Red Book" in 1576 that raised a storm of opposition among the clergy for its reinstitution of many rituals of the medieval Roman Catholic Mass. By the early 1580s, Johan ended his attempts at reconciliation, because Rome would not meet his three conditions: the vernacular Mass, a married clergy, and royal prerogative in appointing church officials.[7]

During the reigns of John and his son Sigismund (r. 1592–1599), Finland played a role in Rome's more detailed plans in respect to the North. During the years 1577–1580, Antonio Possevino, the papal nuncio charged with persuading John III to return to the Roman Catholic fold, envisioned to his superiors in Rome the possibility of creating a Roman Catholic diocese encompassing Finland and the northern littoral of the Gulf of Bothnia. He believed that in this part of the Swedish kingdom there was strong support for Catholicism. It could thus serve as a bridgehead for regaining the entire kingdom for Roman Catholicism. Possevino never visited the area in question. His optimism seemed based on the success of having recruited several young men from Finland for Jesuit seminaries in Central Europe. During Sigismund's reign papal nuncio Germanico Malaspina proposed to his superiors that the Catholic cause would be aided by transferring Finland and Livonia from Sigismund's Swedish kingdom to his Polish kingdom. Both nuncios lacked detailed and reliable knowledge about the religious situation in Finland.[8]

Scholars believe that John III's liturgical reforms received a warmer welcome in Finland than in other parts of the kingdom, but to what extent was the assumed acceptance genuine? There is no evidence to suggest that John's Red Book was ever translated into Finnish. In the years of real controversy over John's Red Book, the late 1570s and early 1580s, both the Diocese of Turku and Viipuri were without a bishop, making enforcement difficult. Evidence suggests that Finland's clergymen largely accepted the Red Book in order to keep

7 Jason Lavery, "A Frontier of Reform: Finland in the Reformation Era," in *Migration und Kulturtransfer*, ed. Otfried Czaika and Heinrich Holze (Stockholm: Biblis, 2012), 60–75; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 273–296.

8 A detailed overview of the entire era is provided by Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, vols. 1–2 (Oslo, 1963–1990); Mirkka Lappalainen, *Susimessu: 1590-luvun sisällissota Ruotsissa ja Suomessa* (Helsinki: Siltala, 2009), 223–224; Jukka Paarma, "Vastauskonpuhdistus ja Suomi," *Teologinen aikakauskirja* 71 (1981): 421–428; Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 248–288, 330–340.

their jobs, and then continued to use other liturgies, such as Paavali Juusten's Finnish-language Mass of 1575. Many clergymen did not need to actively oppose John's reforms: they could hide behind a passive and absent local administration. In Finnish-speaking communities clergy could further insulate themselves by using the language barrier.[9] Moreover, the clergy and people in the Swedish kingdom and in Finland in particular remained positively disposed to many aspects of Catholic liturgy and tradition while having largely rejected Catholic doctrine.

When King John III died in 1592, he left the Swedish throne to his son Sigismund, Already in 1587 Sigismund had been elected to the Polish throne. Sigismund's long absences from Sweden and his Roman Catholic faith provided opportunities for his uncle, Duke Charles of Södermanland, to seek the Swedish throne for himself. In 1593, fearing that the new King Sigismund would seek to recatholicize the Swedish kingdom, leaders of the church met in Uppsala and officially adopted the Augsburg Confession as the foundational creed of the church. Subsequent actions were taken to put the church on a firmly Lutheran path and cleanse it of those who wanted any compromise with Catholicism, Calvinism, or any other branch of Christianity. In 1597, a rump meeting of the estates declared Charles regent of the kingdom, effectively replacing Sigismund. In 1599, a full meeting of the estates proclaimed Charles "hereditary prince" of Sweden. Only in 1604 did he formally adopt the title King Charles IX (r. 1604–11).[10]

In the dynastic struggle between Charles and Sigismund, most in Finland's temporal and ecclesiastical elites supported Sigismund in large part, because the king embodied a strong Swedish-Polish alliance against Russia. Supporters in Finland provided military help in Sigismund's unsuccessful efforts to retake the Swedish throne.[11] Finland experienced additional upheavals during the decade as a result of a peasant revolt known as the War of the Clubs (1596–97). The reasons for the outbreak of this conflict have been debated since Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen published the first study of the conflict in 1857. All scholars agree that an important factor for the outbreak of the war lay in the burdens placed on the peasantry by Finland's military leadership in the Swedish

9 Kauko Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon historia*, vol. 1 (Porvoo: WSOY, 1991), 328–329.

10 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, 327–93.

11 Eric Anthoni, *Konflikten mellan hertig Carl och Finland: Avvecklingen och försoningen* (Helsinki: Mercators Tryckeri, 1937); Pentti Renvall, *Klaus Fleming und der finnische Adel den Anfangsphasen der Krise der neunziger Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1939); Hugo Sommarström, *Finland under striderna mellan Sigismund och Hertig Carl* (Stockholm: Björck och Börjessons Bökforlag, 1935).

kingdom's war against Russia (1570–95). Even after the war with Russia, the heavy burdens placed on the peasantry did not end. Charles's victory meant the end of irenicism and Catholic reform in Finland and the introduction of the period known as Lutheran Orthodoxy.[12]

12 Rainer Fagerlund, "Debatten om klubbekriget fortgår," in *Finlands historia*, vol. 2, ed. Rainer Fagerlund, Kurt Jern, and Nils Erik Villstrand (Espoo: Schildts, 1996), 80–81; Lappalainen, *Susimessu*; Heikki Ylikangas, *Nuijasota* (Helsinki: Otava, 1977); Yrjö-Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, *Nuija-sota: Sen syyt ja tapaukset* (n.p., 1857–59).

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